

# Contemporary Review

incorporating THE FORNIGHTLY

No. 1111 JULY 1958

General de Gaulle . . . . .	VICTOR COHEN
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CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

46-47 CHANCERY LANE . LONDON W.C.2

## GENERAL DE GAULLE

THE instability of France's political scene belies the serenity of her landscape and the grandeur of her people. In 1940 an unknown French General raised the flag of resurrection. General de Gaulle had watched the sad spectacle of the last parliament of the Fourth Republic surrender its sovereignty; unresistingly and almost with relief, into the senile hands of Pétain. He had been brought up to obey, but his chiefs counselled submission. So he broadcast his "Appel" in staccato commanding words spoken with utter self-assurance. "In face of the collapse of the government, which had fallen under the servitude of the enemy, I, General de Gaulle, speak in the name of France. France has lost a battle. She has not lost the war." Once spoken there was no retreat. He was alone although behind him stood a tradition and an inspiration. And so hypnotic was the force of his words, so strong his faith, that he bound his spell on all, until it seemed to them that he was speaking what was in their hearts and minds. He became the guardian of France, of her honour, her message and her glory.

Who was this knight with such power to arm hope and raise armies and who in the anguishing conflict of loyalties appealed to honour above duty? He was 50 years old, of good middle class stock (the particle was recent). His father taught in the famous Jesuit College, Rue de Vaugirard. He had entered St. Cyr in 1911 where he stood out in height and aloofness; his juniors called him "l'asperge," his classmates "le connétable." He was commissioned into the 33rd Foot commanded by Colonel Philippe Pétain. Only when war ended was it perceived that even the period 1814-1914 was another *ancien régime*. He was wounded and captured at Douaumont. Five times he failed to escape because of his height. Later, at the Ecole de Guerre, he began to strike out on his own. So far he had not meddled in politics which he regarded as base. He was royalist out of disgust with politicians, and the soul of obedience. But as he read "History," he saw France radiant as love, noble as heaven, chivalrous as knighthood. He scorned the Maginot Line and the Maginot mentality, and threw down the gage of defiance to the conservatism of experts in his book "Army of the Future." In the Luyautey tradition he regarded the army as a school of citizenship and pleaded for motorized forces with tactics; that the enemy adopted.

This upstart who claimed to speak for France even against her legal government had nothing to offer. Yet he imposed his will on all, against all. No one could withstand the force of his claim, neither Churchill nor Roosevelt nor even Stalin. "Because I was alone I had to reach the summits and never waver." Like all inhabitants of inner worlds, he faced agonized broodings. Yet after the anguish of Mers el Kebir and Dakar he proclaimed: "Englishmen cannot ignore that no victory is possible for them if the soul of France went over to the enemy." With events his stature grew, for so strong was his faith that he sustained the bright heroic vision of the mortal danger and the will to conquer that was born in the hour when defeat was so close. Soon, in spite of falsification and propaganda, there were Gaullist cells throughout France, even in Vichy. Into his France he admitted all Frenchmen, even Communists in spite of their open treachery in 1939. In the same generous spirit, against the policies of Morgenthau and Vansittart, he insisted, as he watched the suicidal obstinacy with which the Nazis were holding out, that "he felt grieved for it was leading to the destruction of a great and certainly guilty people whose loss the higher insight of Europe cannot permit."



As a war leader his unique achievement is that within the framework of the Republic he saved the future of France by interpreting the present in his vision of the past. His power was so magnificent that, had ambition moved him, he could have taken on the aura of a Napoleon. Had he given way to so base a passion his unparalleled capacity for confidence would have suffered irreparably and might have led a credulous people to disaster. He rode above the storm. He spoke to "France éternelle" when he gave back the Republic to France. For what had he fought? For principles and beliefs that never faltered, the grandeur of France. Yet it was the strength of his central and lifelong belief that provoked greater uneasiness than his suspected passion for power. However he saw only one aspect of France he idealized, a vision that embodied shining eternal principles: he never descended to analyze with a scientist's scalpel. How could he translate his vision into the prosaic world? How give France unity and peace? Over the porticoes of the Fourth Republic was soon written *Gallia divisa est in partes*, for parties had returned to make the Republic the sport of their interests and factions. In his Bayeux speech, 1946, he denounced dictators. "What is Dictatorship but a gamble?" He pleaded in vain for a Head of State above parties and an executive unhampered by faction. With a spark of genius he announced a kind of Durham Report for Algeria declaring: "The freer Algeria is, the more will she be united to France." He entered the forum with a party that he hoped would be above party. But undertones were audible. France was not a fairyland. She was an economic unit, a social corps, a human family. He had no palliatives to offer to the humdrum problems of creeping inflation that wrecked life's landmarks, so he returned to Colombey to enjoy his garden with his sweetheart-wife and his three children.

Of concern was the empire. He had saved the empire with the Motherland. But if in his vision France embodied a legend and a tradition, there was *France jaune* and *France noire* and the extensions of France across the Mediterranean. How could they accept a tradition which they had no part in creating? Parliament remained palsied. "Why and in whose name does this system which means nothing but chronic weakness and perpetual crises endure? I am ready to ensure that the country shall be led to salvation and greatness." But his entry into politics had created no stability.

The coup came from Algiers, May, 1958. With the end of war Pan-Arabism had galvanized Morocco and Tunis to snap their links with France. Algeria was unique, for a large French population had made it their homeland. Would it follow the drift? So the colons, the ultras, created a self-appointed "Committee of Public Safety" to maintain their Frenchhood in this Islamic sea, and called the "Cincinnatus," the only name with prestige and integrity, to head their coup. The government recognized its weakness. The frequent ministerial changes recalled the "ministerial leap frog" that heralded the fall of the Czars. With irresponsible oppositions that had power to wound but not to command, parliament recalled the *rois fainéants* of the dim past. Would civil war stain the republic? Again came the staccato voice of de Gaulle drawn from his retreat by public danger, this time to avert war, and the government could not withstand the momentum of the urges. Act 1 in Algiers was followed by Act 2 in Ajaccio, and the cryptic messages sent to Metropolitan France fanned fears that cells of public safety honeycombed the land. Under such pressures the Premier resigned and the President threatened resignation if the Assembly did not maintain the legal ritual and invest De Gaulle.

In June, 1958, he was again at the levers of power, and Frenchmen ask each other: Was this bloodless revolution the end or the beginning? of what? Has France descended to be ruled by pronunciamientos? Was the investiture the Brumaire of another Napoleon? Is he a Boulanger or a Napoleon? Is he the Kerensky of Revolution? Was France in her travail reverting to the tribalism that infected other lands and seeking in totem worship an escape from self-discipline? His sibylline announcements do not clarify. Time has her cruel revenges. The colons, the ultras who formerly opposed native aspirations, now clamour for the complete integration of Algeria into the Motherland. The Safety Committee is not the focus of a United States of Africa. Former Vichyites who had decried him as "the Dissident" now acclaim him as their safeguard against parliamentary palsy, against "le Cirque," the "Système" that has led France to the betrayal of her grandeur. Communists, once his fervent allies, now oppose him in the name of the Republic they had enfeebled. Soldiers crave for consistent command so that factional politics should not undo their life's work.

Towering above the *mêlée* he stands. Like Wellington, he claims that "the government must be carried on." Like Chatham, he believes he can save France and that no one else can. He has no place for insurrectionary caesarism or revolutionary communism. And he infects with his self-confidence. "I began the regular procedure necessary for the establishment of a republican government capable of ensuring the unity and the independence of the country. I call all land and sea and air forces in Algeria to remain exemplary in their behaviour under their chiefs." In 1958 as in 1940 France remains to de Gaulle, like the princess in a fairy tale or the Madonna in the frescoes, dedicated to an exalted destiny. It is in the translation of such mysticisms that the future lies, their mutations into social harmony, economic stability, parliamentary authority. Yet to friend and foe he himself remains a gigantic historical figure in his own lifetime, the saviour of his country, the hero who belongs to legend as much as to reality.

VICTOR COHEN

### THE PROBLEM OF FRANCE

ON June 1, General de Gaulle's Government was duly invested by the National Assembly in the legal forms of the existing Constitution. In the next two days the Assembly voted three measures of capital importance. The first prolonged the special powers which the preceding Government had already been nominally exercising in Algeria. The second accorded full powers to the Government to act by decree over a specified area of affairs. The third—the Constitutional Powers Bill—authorized the Government to frame a revision of the Constitution to be submitted to a referendum without the further intervention of Parliament. The Assemblies were then prorogued for an undefined period. By June 4, General de Gaulle endowed with the great authority thus conferred on him, was in Algiers, restoring the broken contacts between Paris and Algeria. After a tour of four days the Prime Minister returned to France having re-established the civil and military administration of Algeria on a new basis defined in a letter to General Salan, whom he appointed Delegate-General of the Government.

In this week of impetuous action the most spectacular performance was the resumption of authority in Algeria. General de Gaulle went at once to meet the ordeal of the famous Forum. Facing an audience which for weeks had been clamouring for his return to power, exalted with the fervour of demonstrations, he put himself in harmony with them. They had opened the road to "renovation and fraternity." He resumed the movement in a vast comprehensive formula: whatever community they belonged to there were ten million Frenchmen, with an equal share in rights and duties. In three months they would all vote in the referendum. When they came to vote for their representatives on public bodies they would do so in a single college of electors, as all other Frenchmen did. The General was particularly skilful in his allusion to the relations of the army with the movement. The army had canalized the torrent, while conserving the energy. These were to be the themes, in various forms, of all his later speeches.

Before going to Algiers General de Gaulle had written letters to M. Bourguiba and to the King of Morocco in friendly terms. This itself was a new note in French relations with North Africa. Since Sakhiet no other French Minister could have written a letter to M. Bourguiba ending "yours cordially." The General's approach to him had been interpreted as confirmation of the belief that he would seek a liberal solution in Algeria, and perhaps a wider organized relationship between France and North Africa generally. The Forum speech, taken as announcing complete integration of Algeria into France, caused disappointment at Tunis. The F.L.N. published a communiqué at Cairo accusing the General of ranging himself with the Algiers "ultras." It was perhaps going too far to treat a declaration delivered before the Forum crowd as a solemn statement of position on the whole political problem of the future of Algeria. One purpose of the speech must have been to exploit to the utmost the "miracle" of Algerian fraternization and to pin the European French to their new-found sense of unity with the Mussulmans.

During his stay in Algeria General de Gaulle did not omit to deal with the question of the future activities of the Committees of Public Safety. At Algiers he did not mention them by name. At Bone and Constantine he was officially welcomed, not by any of the new notables but by Army leaders. The Prime Minister managed his series of speeches with great art. When he came to Oran, near the end of his tour, he spoke as the head of the Government with an accent of authority: "France is here in my person." At the Prefecture he said openly that as the Algerian movement had obtained the results it sought it should now change its aim, not to substitute itself for the authorities, but to promote the contacts between the communities—the *intégration des âmes*. To M. Carlin, who presented a list of suggestions—for example, that the Government should base itself on the support of the Committees of Public Safety, and that the members of the Committee of Public Safety should be allowed to participate in a grand patriotic procession on the Champs Elysées on June 18—General de Gaulle replied: "You are not continuing to carry on the revolution." In short, the Committees are invited to confine themselves to propaganda, for which the prospect of a Constitutional referendum in the autumn offers obvious opportunities. M. Delbecque, a former assistant at the Ministry of National Defence, who has been described as the organizer of the Algiers movement, recently stated that there were more than 300 clandestine Committees of Public

Safety in France itself, and one or two of this impressive number have made brief appearances in public. In the letter appointing General Salan Delegate General and Commandant-in-chief of the the forces in Algeria the Prime Minister said that he would himself be the member of the Government dealing with Algerian affairs. Those members of the administrative personnel whom the Delegate General does not consider it proper to employ in present circumstances he is to remove without delay, placing them at the disposal of the Ministerial departments to which they belong. The Prime Minister also states that the committees which were spontaneously constituted in recent circumstances could not in any case encroach on the functions of the regular authorities.

May 13, the day of the Algiers outbreak, is a historic date. The investiture of M. Pflimlin's Government was a retort to the mob-ultimatum which called for his withdrawal and the substitution of a de Gaulle Government. M. Pflimlin was backed by a published order of the President of the Republic which called on the army to remain within its duty under the authority of the Government of the Republic. Algiers was widely regarded as a Fascist threat, and the extension of the movement to Corsica was soon to confirm this belief. One of the early acts of the Pflimlin Government was to dissolve certain associations of the extremist Right in France and to order the arrest of some leaders. During the next fortnight there were many examples of the stirring of opinion. Municipal councils met to pass resolutions of fidelity to the Republican regime. The big demonstration in which Republican organizations of all colours marched from the Place de la Nation to the Place de la République was a striking expression of opinion, as was the one-day strike of teachers. Trade unions ordered sectional warning strikes with the same object. The mass of the population remained calm, though probably not indifferent.

But events quickly carried the issue beyond this stage of demonstrations and proclamations of principles. After General de Gaulle's press conference of May 19, in which he did not condemn the Algiers movement, the long shadow of the General hovered over the Government and the National Assembly. The Government, nominally or really, gave General Salan authority to act for it in Algeria, but the fact remained that the Government had not dominated the situation there. M. Pflimlin, conscientious under a crushing weight of responsibility, acted as if he were on the defensive. He brought Socialists into his Ministry and consolidated his Parliamentary position, but he pressed through the Assembly a series of measures which seemed belated or irrelevant to the great matters at stake. He established a "state of urgency." He set up a censorship which made familiar newspapers, commenting under restraint, difficult to read. He proposed for rapid decision a deep Constitutional reform which looked like an untimely recognition, whether merited or not, of the guilt of the regime. On a first vote on this issue he obtained a majority of 408 against 165. Even without the Communist support his majority would still have been large, but he promptly resigned, on the ground that he had lost the support of the Conservative Independents, an important element in his majority. Almost simultaneously, General de Gaulle announced that he had taken the first steps towards the establishment of a Republican Government.

It seems to have been M. Pinay, the Independent leader, who first hit upon the notion that General de Gaulle, whom Algiers was trying to thrust upon Parliament, was not a menace but a means of salvation. He saw the

General on May 22 and pressed M. Pflimlin to see him. The contagion spread. M. Mollet wrote to the General asking for a detailed statement of his intentions. M. Auriol, an ex-President of the Republic, also wrote a letter appealing to the General to clarify his position with regard to Algiers and obtained a conciliatory reply. On May 29 the President of the Republic received General de Gaulle at the Elysee and asked him to form a Government. M. Coty announced in a message to the National Assembly his decision to invite General de Gaulle to confer with him to discuss what was immediately necessary for the formation of a Government of national safety and what could be done for a profound reform of institutions. In his grave message the President of the Republic said that the country had been on the brink of civil war. In the minds of many politicians the choice was one between the risk of civil war and de Gaulle. Probably also the Independents thought that there was a second risk—that of the formation of a Popular Front by the alliance of Socialists and Communists, and that this combination would be dominated by the Communists.

It has been said that the Fourth Republic has disappeared. This is presuming on the nature of the Constitutional amendments and the result of the referendum. It is certain that by adopting the Constitutional Powers Bill as presented by the de Gaulle Government the Assembly voted away its own Constitutional rights. Article 90 stipulates that revision of the Constitution shall be proposed by a resolution submitted to the National Assembly. If the resolution is approved by both the Assembly and the Council of the Republic the National Assembly then frames its Revision Bill, which becomes law if its second reading is passed by a majority of two-thirds. Unless that majority is attained the Bill must be submitted to a referendum. Under the new Bill adopted by a two-thirds majority (350 against 161) all this Parliamentary procedure is abolished. The de Gaulle Government—with the aid of a consultative committee on which the Parliamentary Committees will be represented—is free to draw up its scheme of revision and at once submit it directly to a referendum.

The text thus adopted lays down certain principles, including the important one that the Government must be responsible to Parliament. To those who are suspicious of "Gaullist" innovations the principle that the executive power and the legislative power should be effectively separated, so that Government and Parliament shall "each for its own part and responsibility" assume its prescribed functions, opens the door to speculation.

General de Gaulle's quickness of action and the diversity of questions he treated in the first fortnight of his Government left a good many unanswered questions about his intentions. On the question of the *integration* of Algeria, a doubt was left, if only because he did not use the word. If, as has been suggested, municipal elections are held in Algeria within a few weeks—difficult as it would be to organize them on such short notice—they would furnish some test of the resisting strength of the Algerian confraternity of the Europeans and Mussulman communities, on which General de Gaulle counts so much for the future of Algeria.

It may be taken for granted that the Prime Minister's deepest preoccupation will be, as it always has been, the future of French national institutions. It has been supposed that the referendum on the Constitutional amendments will take place in the early autumn. Parliament is prorogued, parties are in disarray after the events of the last few weeks, and the usual machinery for the preparation of such a test as the referendum is largely out of gear.



Assuming, as it appears to be expected, that the referendum is quickly followed by a general election, confusion will be unavoidable. Perhaps there is a possibility that Parliament may be provoked to pass an electoral law. The mode of election has traditionally been regarded as a concern mainly of the National Assembly. An electoral system exists, but it has been subjected to much criticism and would normally come up for debate before a general election.

General de Gaulle's Ministry is composed, as to two-thirds, of Members of Parliament, including M. Pinay, M. Mollet and M. Pflimlin, party leaders. The posts of Foreign Affairs, Interior, Armies and Overseas-France are, however, occupied by non-Parliamentarians, and the most significant appointment is that of General de Gaulle himself as Minister of National Defence; he will also have personal charge of Algerian affairs.

A new Prefect for Corsica, M. Lamassoure, a former member of M. Soustelle's cabinet when he was Governor-General of Algeria, has been appointed to carry out the delicate task of re-establishing normal administration in the island.

An interesting enterprise in internal affairs was the launching of a "gold" loan, indexed on the value of the napoleon, by M. Pinay, the new Minister of Finance, who had carried out a similar operation in 1952.

The publication of a motion of the Algiers Committee of Public Safety at the moment of the completion of the de Gaulle Ministry occasioned surprise by its political character. It called for the "disappearance of political parties" and for the revocation of the *loi-cadre* concerning Algeria, and declared itself unfavourable to the project of holding municipal elections in Algeria before the referendum on the new Constitution.

General Massu was stated to be present at the meeting of the Committee which passed this motion. The Committee's resolution was forwarded to the Prime Minister by General Salan. The reply was a telegram in which General de Gaulle referred to the regrettable and untimely incident caused by the "peremptory motion" of a Committee which had no right other than that of expressing the opinion of its members. He added that the regular authority, including General Salan himself, could not take sides on anything that this committee or any other political organization might express or demand.

The Algiers Committee's motion shocked opinion by its pretension to impose a régime, which has been described as neo-Vichysme, on France itself. The fact that the motion was adopted unanimously by the Committee in the presence of the military members increased the uneasiness. In the course of a lecture delivered since the formation of the de Gaulle Government M. Mitterrand, leader of the UDSR, one of the smaller Parliamentary parties, gave an explanation of the Algiers movement differing from the account commonly presented. He said that the movement had succeeded because the army wished it to succeed. There is perhaps excessive optimism in the desire to regard the Algiers Committee's motion as a mere "back-fire" of the machine which started on May 13, but it cannot now cause the enterprise of General de Gaulle to deviate from its purpose of restoring national unity.

Anxiety was caused in Western Germany as to the possible effect of recent events on the process of setting up European institutions. It does not seem that the treaties are in danger, but France is not fully prepared financially and economically for their application according to programme. M. Couve



de Murville, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, came to his post directly from the embassy at Bonn, and this should give some assurance that the interruption in European development need not be more than a "pause."

Tunisia was one of the first subjects to be considered by the de Gaulle cabinet, and the prospect of direct negotiations on the resumption of normal diplomatic relations and on the question of the stationing of French troops in Tunisia was reopened. Troops will remain in Bizerta alone.

A committee of jurists promptly began the preliminary preparation of the new Constitution. It would seem that the scheme outlined in General de Gaulle's speech at Bayeux in 1946 will form the basis. Declarations of the Republican Socialists, ex-Gaullists, who favour the reform, and of the Communists who are against, seemed to foreshadow a vigorous controversy in preparation for the referendum.

In a broadcast speech, which was intended among other things to give a good start to M. Pinay's loan, General de Gaulle summoned the country to an effort of renovation in a tone of high optimism. Among various allusions to the great problems he made carefully phrased references to Algeria, when the object is to pacify and act in such a way that she may be, for always, body and soul with France; to African territories and Madagascar, where the links with France itself should be organized in a federal way; and to Tunis and Morocco and the Indo-Chinese States, with which relations should be on the basis of co-operation. Several of these terms leave room for varied interpretation as to their practical application. This allusion to France's international position in the Western World—to which she belongs "without being obliged to confine ourselves to it"—also leaves open the door to interpretation.

*Vernon, Eure.*

W. L. MIDDLETON

## INDIA REVISITED

INDIA is such a vast country and a land of such variety that some four months of travel gives one little confidence that one has got a fair picture of the scene as a whole. However, it was barely four years since my last residence there which lasted nearly two years; so at least I was able to talk to many old friends, Indian and foreign, and to revisit familiar places. Many of my impressions had to be gained at second hand by talking with men and women whose judgment I trusted rather than by seeing for myself. Without doubt, India is an exciting country to visit today. Much is happening; and again and again, side by side with a certain age-old inertia induced in part by the climate, in part by chronic undernourishment, one is impressed by the sense of vigour and determination, on the part of government officials, social workers and perhaps most of all by the political leaders, with Mr. Nehru himself as the almost inexhaustible dynamo of the whole mighty machine.

While I was in India, I read an account of some American visitor who declared that there were plenty of signs of progress in the cities of India, but little or none in the villages. I am inclined to think that the exact opposite would be nearer the truth. To be sure anyone who visits Delhi, or the extraordinary new Punjab capital, Chandigarh, or one or other great new steel-plant, is bound to be impressed with the vast buildings that

are leaping up in such places. But this is somewhat superficial. The same things can be seen in Pakistan too; but in both countries one wonders how much of this sort of thing is due to foreign aid; also, whether in fact countries still suffering from widespread poverty can really afford such expenditure. Visit the Delhi slums, and one has no impression of progress in the past five or even 20 years. While I was in India a special committee was appointed for slum clearance. I hope it can do something effective before long.

India's First Five-Year Plan recognized that in a country with over 80 per cent of the population living on the land, the problem of increasing food-supply must take priority over industrialization. Owing to a series of comparatively good harvests it was thought that the main problem of self-sufficiency in food had in fact been achieved, so the second plan gives a higher place to industrial development. But the past year has shown that this was premature. In less favourable seasons India is still unable to feed her own population, and must waste precious currency in buying food from abroad. True, the increase in food production has gone faster than the growth of population, but not fast enough. Probably one reason is that the rural population is, on the whole, really better off, so the peasant can afford to hold more of his food for himself and his family. This may be a very sound foundation for the "virtuous spiral" into which India is striving to build her economy. Better fed peasants can do more work in the field; can produce better crops; will have greater enthusiasm for the new life the Government is trying to help them to achieve; and will, in course of time, even a short time, have more purchasing power, so that the internal market for an expanding manufacture will grow in the best possible way.

The Community Projects, started as one main foundation of the whole plan, now cover nearly half the villages of India. What are they achieving? I have as I write an Evaluation Report published a year ago. This report is based on a thorough survey of development in a total of 702 villages, representing between 15 per cent and 20 per cent of the villages then already reached by the community projects. The general conclusion is that so far the achievements are very scrappy. Here you will find better education, increase of schools, but perhaps no increase in agricultural output. Another area will have gone ahead with digging tube-wells, but has paid no attention to crop improvement. Another has made good new roads, but has started no new schools. And so on, indefinitely. If you look at this from the self-critical attitude of the Evaluation Report, it is disappointing, but if you look at the sum total of achievement, the result is impressive. The conclusion of the Committee is, in effect: We ought to do better than this; and we will! Perhaps this determination not to be satisfied with anything short of genuine, all-round progress is in itself one of the best signs. But one must still ask: Are the villagers as determined as the best of the officials; or only acquiescing in a tremendous official drive? This is inevitably a most difficult question to answer. The report attempts an answer, but its answer is cautious. I can testify that I have visited areas where the villagers themselves are obviously aware that things could be better and where their response to outside aid appears to be enthusiastic and also, what is more important, critical. They are not merely acquiescing. A visitor naturally sees the more advanced areas, but I think it is clear enough that this kind of process is quite plainly happening in hundreds of villages, north and south, east and west and centre.

Nor is the development of a better standard of living dependent on Government action alone. One of the things that impressed me most, as I travelled up and down, was the number and variety of social development schemes that have been launched by all manner of agencies, some of them foreign, but the majority entirely Indian in inspiration and in execution. I can almost say that I stumbled across such activities wherever I went. And, of course, above all, there is the amazing crusade carried on now for the past eight years or so by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who has walked from village to village over many of the Indian States, appealing to the people of India to share and to give, rather than to grasp and to hold for themselves and their families alone. Land has been the symbol of his mission; and in India, where the ancestral lands are the foundation for family coherence and well-being, if a man or a family is prepared to surrender some land he is indeed giving something like his very lifeblood for his needy neighbour. But lately Vinoba has gone far beyond this. For over a year he and his colleagues have been calling on the village land-owners to get together and give the whole of the village land into a common pool, so that it may be redistributed according to need. At first this appeal was taken up chiefly in the tribal areas of Orissa, where communal farming, or at least ownership, is well understood. But now, as I learnt, "gram-dan," meaning village-gifts, are widespread in half a dozen Indian States. Vinoba is also urging the village people to form their own "peace-brigades," trained to keep the peace and so to make the work of State police unnecessary. This, in his view, could be the foundation for genuine disarmament. Like Gandhi, he would like also to see India disarm completely without waiting for her neighbours to do likewise. Indeed, he has urged publicly again and again that India should reduce her military budget by 50 per cent as a first gesture of goodwill towards Pakistan.

Happily today there is beginning to be co-operation between Vinoba, as he moves across the whole face of India in his prophetic mission, and the Government. A year or two ago, his fellow-workers and the Government officials tended to be mutually critical: now it is seen that their work is mutually complementary. He goes about instilling a new way of life among the masses. The Government can then follow on and see that practical effect is given to the new way. He is a great believer in inducing the people to work out their own solutions, but I think he recognizes that the Government can help in many ways. Nor is he, like some Gandhians, against scientific improvement. Only he insists that technical improvements, whether in agricultural implements or in irrigation or electric power, must be made available for all, not only for a favoured few.

One of the States in which Vinoba has recently walked is Kerala, a name which hides (from the "old India hand") the union of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar: in other words, the long strip to the south-west of the Western Ghats. This State had already come under Communist rule when Vinoba was there. The Chief Minister, Mr. Namboodripad, whom I met, assured me that he had had long conversations with him; "and," he said, "we agreed about everything except the use of force to bring about social change." That seemed to him quite a minor difference. Others might not agree. Mr. Namboodripad is a most friendly man to meet, and he talked to his two British visitors, brought to him by a Travancorian Christian pacifist, with seeming frankness and sincerity. Whatever plans they may have for the future it seems clear that at present the Communists in Kerala

intend to observe the Indian Constitution, and that will give little scope for revolutionary social adventures, at least of a violent kind. At the moment they seem to be giving evidence that they do not intend to frighten away foreign owners of tea plantations or other capitalist undertakings. I heard some disturbing accounts of acts of violence, carried out by Communist gangs, but I was assured that such things are by no means new in Kerala. Moreover, the Catholic Church appears also to have trained young men called "Christophers," some of whose actions are not peaceful. In fact there appears to be some danger that the Communist Party and the Catholic Church may be precipitating a head-on collision in Kerala; and I am not sure that all the blame can be placed on the Communists. It is surely always dangerous to assume that a certain regime can only be met by violence. Many of the Christians of Kerala (a State with a population one third Christian) are giving anxious thought to their attitude towards the Communist Government. Some are for active co-operation in every enterprise that seems to them to be for the real good of the people; others urge a more cautious attitude. The position is not an easy one. It may be that Communism in Kerala will in fact prove different from Communism as it has developed in other countries. Mr. Namboodripad does not repudiate his old allegiance to Gandhi, even though he is frankly accepting principles some of which were repugnant to him. What a Communism with an infusion of Gandhism would be like it is difficult to imagine. Events in Kerala certainly need to be closely watched, and watched, I think, with an open mind.

India is certainly on the march. If her present leadership continues her progress towards a welfare State will not be undertaken at the expense of her ancient traditions. It is easy to feel, as you walk out into the fields of India, smell the same old smells, and see the same pattern of life, the same hard labour of men and women, doing things by hand which we of the West mostly leave to machinery, that nothing has changed. Fundamentally, perhaps nothing has; perhaps also nothing much should. The ancient pattern of Indian rural life was not fundamentally bad. It is not tractors and radio sets and fast traffic that India most needs. If she can really overcome her abject poverty; if she can find a better way of life for beggars and other unemployed or under-employed or ill-employed millions in village and town; if the terrors of superstition can be driven out of the minds of simple people by the spread of the "basic education" which is one of the great debts India owes to the genius of Gandhi; if Vinoba can show all India that the life of giving and sharing is the true life for man in society; if the soil of India can be induced to provide three or four times what it has produced hitherto; if the nation as a whole can follow the Gandhian path by leading the way in the renunciation of armed defence: then free India will not only have fully justified her freedom but she may also lead the world towards a happier age.

HORACE ALEXANDER

### PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

**T**HERE are four main problems of the Middle East: Egypt under Nasser, the resentment against the Jews in Israel, the divisions and fecklessness of the Arab nations, and lastly the query whether they

can maintain their virtues and traditions intact against the disintegration which threatens them from modernization and above all from the temptations offered by the sudden wealth of oilfields. There is no indication that either Great Britain or America has done much to solve them. It is the complaint of Sir John Glubb, a shrewd observer who has had plenty of experience, that the British and Americans, in spite of their apparent *entente* in their capitals, show distrust of one another in the Middle East, and that the Americans join with the Russians in denouncing and working against "British Imperialism" when, if one looks closely, one sees that their business men and their agents rush in as soon as the British have been got out, and often behave with much less courtesy and consideration than the British have done. There is another difficulty of which much has been written in recent months: it is the demoralization seen in Saudi Arabia for the very reason that the Americans with their oil company, ARAMCO, have done so little to guide the court in the due spending of the sudden and enormous riches which have come to them from their wells. It is true that old Ibn Saud had 40 sons—which Mr. James Morris raises to 80—and all wanted the spoil divided amongst them. But, even so, the fact remains that in Iraq and Kuwait the British advised the use of the surplus very wisely, either in investment or in the improvement of the whole life of the state. In these countries, in other words, "Imperialism" has meant neither more nor less than wise advice; and, indeed, if one looks at the countries in this area there is a noticeable difference between Egypt, Israel and Iraq, not to mention Kuwait—where the British overlordship established a sound tradition of administration, and those like Arabia and Syria, where they were either left to themselves or brought under an influence other than that of British Imperialism.

Some years ago Mr. Philby, who is not only himself a Moslem but who identified himself with Ibn Saud and his cause, had to admit that at the end of his life that great Arab king had lost his grip, and that he could do nothing against the insidious demoralization of the Court which followed the immense revenues placed by ARAMCO at his disposal. Not content to refrain from good business advice about the necessity of building up reserves from this immense sudden access of wealth, they even went so far as to advance the revenue of years to come. The result has been one which is deplored by all who admired the old tradition. We have the strongest expressions from Herr van der Meulen, who was one of those who felt that Mr. Philby's own response to Islam was not sufficiently spiritual. He too paints a dark picture of the changes which Americanization has brought to Riad. On this Mr. Morris also dilates, while at the same time he gives some queer details as to how the Americans themselves are constrained, in their life at Dhahran. Women are not only forbidden to drive their own cars but to import books. Of course there is no possibility of them having any place of worship other than a mosque. All this, in the opinion of Herr van der Meulen, is due to the fact that they made no assertion of any religious needs, but in every way tried to adapt themselves to the complete independence of an Arab state. Was it really necessary? Did they really think that Ibn Saud would prefer them not to worship at all? Had they no idea of the favours which Saladin so freely granted to St. Francis? There is evidence enough that Ibn Saud regarded this spinelessness with contempt.

It is true that the picture of Kuwait given by Mr. Morris in the chapter called "Boom Town" is not attractive. It appears that there was no aesthetic



sense at play among those who planned for this portentous flow of oil. But on the other hand there is no sign of sudden demoralization, such as the healthy judgment of Mr. Morris so often deploras. Indeed he is sickened by the recurring spectacle of depravity in the markets of Seleukia and its recurring merchandise of sin. Too often the quest of the noblest Arab is not the mosque but the harlot's house.

Mr. Morris has some defect which cuts him from seeing what reserves of spiritual power the East still keeps, a power which gives it poise and dignity even today. The redolence of the Bible still hangs over the regions of the palm: the desert still is there with the call of its solitudes to eternity. And nothing is more complex than the soul of Nasser, who certainly differs from most Western statesmen in heeding the frequent call of the muezzin to worship and holiness and who yet, while the hero of Egypt in what has been called the age of Bandung, is still so ready to defame, to intrigue against his neighbours, and brazenly to deceive. Whether he survives or not, he has done something which has altered for good and all the attitude of the Arab world. He personifies the resolutions of Bandung, where, as General Glubb points out, he made an *entente* with Chou-en-lai which has altered his whole policy. He learnt then that he could rely on a good deal of Russian support—he has probably learnt since that he will have it only so long as he is playing into Russian hands: and there are indications that already he has learnt that the British were more reasonable, more courteous and more reliable when not under the clumsy diplomacy of a Killlearn or the subservience of an Eden to either French Socialists or to his own temperament. But how absurd it was to fear the arms deal with Russia, who certainly did not mean to involve itself in a major war on the soil of Egypt and whose arms could not cure the Egyptians of what the Nile brings them with its fertility: the prevalent somnifying disease of bilharzia. This debilitating the great majority of the population prevents them from ever having the efficiency of a Prussian army, and indeed what does even that efficiency mean in days of the hydrogen bomb, which could smash the canal in three minutes with one directed blow?

As months and years go on the harm done to British interests by the affair of Suez becomes more and more obvious and infuriating to all who wish to further British—or French—interests in the Middle East. We still have no diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia; we are still exiled from Egypt and Syria, with all that means in damage to business. Every month of delay in coming to a settlement has increased the original harm. But what are British interests in the Middle East compared to the political prestige of Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and his chief? The main result of the formation of the United Arab Republic is that it gives the President control of every means by which the oil of the Middle East can be transported to the Mediterranean. The chief hope that comes from the rival federation of Jordan and Iraq is that it will give Nuri Said the opportunity to provide from the immense surplus of Iraq work or maintenance for the 900,000 Arab refugees who since 1948 have been languishing, idly and hungry, on the banks of the Jordan.

Sir John Glubb in his last book has given us the first clear account of the Arab-Israeli war which drove those 900,000 from their homes, soon to be occupied by Jews who have resolutely refused to allow a penny of the vast sums sent every year to Israel to be spent in payment for the property they seized. General Glubb shows that though the Jews of 1948 were only 700,000 they could command an army twice as numerous and well equipped by



Russia to that which the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the Arab states could provide. It was the few thousands of the Arab Legion commanded by General Glubb who alone attained any military objective. In doing so they aroused the jealousy of the Egyptians, who forfeited to their resentment their only effective ally. Sir Anthony Eden sent no Killearn to the Euphrates or the Persian Gulf. On the contrary, Sir Kinahan Cornwallis took there the tradition of the Wingate under whom he had served on the Nile. He and his successors have worked in so well with the outstanding ability of Nuri Said that the future of Iraq is assured as much as that of Saudi Arabia is imperilled as its younger generation finds in its admiration for Nasser its only real bulwark against Communism.

ROBERT SENCOURT.

The three new books referred to are *A Soldier with the Arabs*, by General Glubb; *The Market of Seleukia*, by James Morris; *The Wells of Ibn Saud*, by E. van der Meulen.

## THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND. II

THE Republic of Ireland Bill was introduced into the Dail on November 18, 1948. The text was contained in a single foolscap sheet and had five sections. It was as follows:—"Section I—the Executive Authority (External Relations) Act, Number 58 of 1936, is hereby repealed. Section II—It is hereby declared that the description of the state shall be 'Republic of Ireland.' Section III—The President on the authority and on the advice of the Government may exercise the executive power or any executive function of the state in or in connection with its external relations. Section IV—This Act shall come into operation on such day as the Government may, by order, appoint. Section V—This Act may be cited as the Republic of Ireland Act 1948."

In explanation of Section III it should be pointed out that the functions which the 1936 Act conferred on the King would disappear. In all these matters the new Bill would authorize the President of Ireland to take the place of the King and act accordingly. The title hitherto borne by the President under the constitution of 1937 omitted to disclose the sort of state of which he was President; he would now become "President of the Republic of Ireland." The fact is that since 1936, when Mr. De Valera secured the enactment of the External Relations Act, and even more since 1937, when the present constitution of Eire replaced the old constitution of the Irish Free State, Eire has had a Republican form of Government for all except a very few formal matters connected with her external affairs.

The Special Correspondent of the *Times* in Eire wrote on Friday, November 19, 1948, an article on the future of Anglo-Irish relations. He imagined a conversation taking place between an Englishman and an Irishman.

"Englishman—So you Irish of the 26 Counties are leaving the Commonwealth. What's the trouble this time?

"Irishman—No trouble—unless you start it. We're not leaving the Commonwealth in any true sense. On the contrary, we are making an honest woman out of one whose marriage lines don't bear looking into.

"Englishman—They were valid enough to keep you neutral during the

whole of the last war without any challenge. What more proof do you want of complete freedom and independence?

"Irishman—For 12 years we have been living a lie and you have been a partner of it—a sleeping partner if you like."

On November 22, 1948, a statement was issued from 10 Downing Street which said that Sir Basil Brooke, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, had seen Mr. Attlee at Chequers. The meeting was the outcome of a request from Mr. Attlee who desired personally to inform Sir Basil Brooke of the recent discussions between Eire ministers and representatives of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand on the impending repeal of the External Relations Act by the Eire Government.

Mr. M. B. Yeats, a Senator, wrote to the *Irish Times* on November 22 to complain that:—

"At no time either before or during the Election, did any Fine Gael speaker give the slightest indication that the policy which had been pursued for nearly 30 years was about to be abandoned . . . Conduct such as this goes far to deny the representative capacity of members of the Dail, and thus to undermine the very foundation of democracy."

Mr. Costello, the Prime Minister, moved the Second Reading of the Republic of Ireland Bill in the Dail on Wednesday, November 24. He said that it was unnecessary for him to go through all the constitutional amendments which had been passed in the years following the Treaty of 1921, but he wished to put on record that when the Oath had been removed and the Treaty had been taken away from the Statute Book, and the Executive Authority (External Relations) Act of 1936 had been passed, and the twenty-seventh amendment of the constitution, which had removed all references to the Crown, had been accepted, and when the constitution of 1937 had been enacted, and came into force, then—to use the words of Deputy De Valera: "The Treaty of 1921 is sped. It is finished."

Mr. Costello went on to say:

The answer to those who ask are they leaving the Commonwealth is "We left long ago." "To those who are saying that we are cutting the link with the Crown I would ask—what kind of a link was it?—a link made by a rubber stamp."

Mr. Costello asked then:—

"Why should we continue the national indignity of perpetuating the External Relations Act in the faint and vague hope that our ambiguous constitutional status under that Act would prepare the way for co-operation with the Government of the six north-eastern counties."

Mr. De Valera in reply said that they did not intend to oppose the Bill and he admitted that the External Relations Act had caused some confusion within the country, but not outside it. One of the purposes it was intended to serve was to be a bridge by which the separated counties might be induced into union with the rest of the country. Ever since 1921 they had realized that there was a one-fifth dissident minority in the country who wanted association with the British Commonwealth. Mr. De Valera then went on to say according to the Official Report:—

"We were faced with the problem as to whether we could solve the difficulty without the use of force. If we were to attempt to do it by the use of force, no matter how right we might consider our cause and no matter how justifiable would have been the use of force, we were faced with the question as to whether or not we would be successful."

Deputy A. P. Byrne moved an amendment on the Second Reading in these words:—

"Dail Eireann refuses to give a Second Reading to the Republic of Ireland Bill, 1948, believing that its enactment at this time would seriously impair the prospects of uniting the six counties of Northern Ireland with the rest of Ireland."

The amendment was seconded by his father, Alderman Alfred Byrne.

Mr. Lemass of Fianna Fail pointed out:—

"It is a matter entirely for the Taoiseach's own conscience whether he can reconcile his course of action here today with the declarations he made when he was seeking election or even with the declarations he made following the formation of the Coalition Government. I am not trying to lead his conscience. I think, however, that it would have been more fitting from the viewpoint of securing respect for the traditions of our public life, if some evidence of this change in viewpoint had been given to the electorate before the Election."

Mr. Attlee, speaking in the House of Commons on Thursday, November 25, defined the British Government's intended relationship with Eire when the Republic of Ireland Bill would come into force. He said that they would not regard the enactment of this legislation as placing Eire and its citizens in the category of foreigners. Mr. Churchill replied that in the Debate on the Address they had had every reason to suppose that the Government would resist the proposal of Mr. Costello's Government to sever the last tenuous link with the Crown, and that the Southern Irish would be confronted with all the difficulties which would arise in regard to questions of nationality of Irishmen in Great Britain, and of the British in Ireland, and also in all matters connected with preference and trade relations. They had now abandoned that position and were going to acquiesce in an arrangement which left the Southern Irish in full enjoyment of any advantages there might be in being associated with the British Empire and Commonwealth without having any reciprocal obligation. It was not the question of the relations between Great Britain and the Southern Irish that was important. The serious matter was the attitude of the Government towards it and the action—or the inaction—they proposed. He would like to make it clear that the Opposition in no way associated themselves with this Act. The Government had the power. They also had the responsibility. This was only an incident in the melancholy path they were now forced to tread.

The Lord Chancellor made a similar statement to that of Mr. Attlee in the House of Lords. The Marquis of Salisbury described it as of fundamental importance, both for the facts it disclosed and the implications to which it gave rise. He was profoundly disturbed by the nature of the settlement which had been reached. Eire had repudiated her allegiance to the Crown and had destroyed the family relationship. She had a perfect right to do that if she wished, but he could not see why in those circumstances she should retain all the advantages of membership.

On the Motion for the Adjournment of the House of Commons on Friday, November 26, I raised the question of our relations with Eire. I said that all previous amendments of the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 were bi-lateral and were ratified by both Parliaments, and I asked whether the British Government were now going to accept the complete repudiation of the Treaty of 1921 set forth in the Republic of Ireland Bill now

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before the Dail and whether, in view of the terms of the "Eire Confirmation of Agreements Act" of May 17, 1938, the British Government were prepared to accept the term "Republic of Ireland." The term "Republic of Ireland" would include the whole of the 32 counties, and not merely the 26 which were defined as the territory of the Irish Free State by the 1938 Agreement. In "The Confirmation of Agreements Act" the word "Ireland" was not used in any clause but always the word "Eire," which was accepted as the new legal description of the Irish Free State. The term "Republic of Ireland" was, therefore, absolutely illegal and inconsistent with the Act on which the recognition of the new 1937 constitution of Eire rested.

Mr. P. J. Noel-Baker, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, while ignoring my argument on the question of the legality of the term "Republic of Ireland," referred once more to the British Nationality Act, 1948, and said that Eire citizens would have the same rights under our statute law as British subjects.

The Republic of Ireland Bill came before the Eire Senate on Thursday, December 9, 1948, and Professor Bigger, representing Dublin University, warned the Government that it was making a "tragic mistake." He had voted for Fine Gael at the last General Election believing that it stood for maintaining the link with the Crown, and he had been "taken in by a confidence trick" and he added:—

"I believe that if there were a free vote of the people of all Ireland on the issue for or against remaining in the Commonwealth, there would be a majority for remaining in."

The Republic of Ireland Bill was signed in Dublin on December 21, by Mr. Sean T. O'Kelly as President of Eire, but the measure was not to come into operation until the Eire Government had fixed the appointed day. The signing of the Bill caused no excitement in Dublin. What happened was that Mr. Costello, the Prime Minister, and Mr. MacBride called at Mr. O'Kelly's official residence and were shown into the study where a few officials and reporters had gathered. They saw Mr. O'Kelly sign two copies of the Bill, one in Irish and one in English. A three-column heading over a report in the *New York Sun* stated "Eire at last is free."

At the beginning of January, 1949, more than 4,000 war-time deserters from the Eire army were freed from a seven-year ban imposed in 1945 denying them the right to work in any capacity on any scheme on which public funds might be expended. The Military Services (Temporary Provisions) Bill provided for the abolition of the penalty and it was carried in the Senate by 34 votes to 14. Dr. O'Higgins, Minister of Defence, said:

"It was un-Christian and inhuman to enforce this 'seven-year sentence,' particularly as many of the men had suffered a good deal for their convictions."

Professor W. B. Stanford, representing Dublin University, said that these so-called "deserters" had joined the British Forces because they felt that by so doing they were contributing more to the security of their country than by remaining in the army of Eire.

The passing of the Republic of Ireland Bill in the Southern Ireland Parliament called forth certain repercussions in the British House of Commons which will be dealt with in our next issue.

DOUGLAS L. SAVORY.

*To be continued.*



## MASEFIELD AT EIGHTY

"I AM in some little doubt as to the house in which I was born," Mr. Masfield tells us in his autobiography *So long to learn* (1952), "but in or near Ledbury (Herefordshire), and on or nearly on, the 1st of June, 1878 should suffice." By 1923 (the date of his *Collected Poems*), he had written all his chief works in verse, though an even larger out-put of prose, mostly in the novel-form, followed from that date. In 1930 he succeeded, on the death of Robert Bridges, to the Laureateship—a position justly accorded to him in recognition of the vigour of his craft, his narrative gifts, and breadth of sympathy. There are poets' poets, and ordinary men's poets, and—more recently—poets for the intellectual. Mr. Masfield's talents, and his cast of mind and heart, have placed him as a central figure in the second genre. It is a category of creators considerably diminished in numbers at the present; and the occasion of the poet's eightieth birthday offers an opportunity of acquainting or re-acquainting ourselves with the work of its foremost representative. As Sir Henry Newbolt has written of him, with reference to his poem *The Everlasting Mercy*, "Masfield took his readers in a breath away from all that is orderly and intellectual, and gave them in one vivid half-hour a plunge into life that was unfamiliar but in no way alien: strange in its rudeness and sincerity, intelligible in its Englishry."<sup>1</sup> This sense of identity with the common lot, with the unexalted tragedy or fate, is expressed more succinctly still by Herbert Palmer, "Masfield," he writes, "is the poet of the thrashed thews and the burning heart, the complete romantic who has managed to bring poetry down to the plain reader in the street."<sup>2</sup>

The gamut of Mr. Masfield's sympathy, the run of his curiosity, is well suggested by the first poem in his collection *Salt-Water Ballads* (1902), entitled *A Consecration*:

Not the ruler for me, but the ranker, the tramp of the road,  
The slave with the sack on his shoulders pricked on with the goad,  
The man with too weighty a burden, too heavy a load.  
The sailor, the stoker of steamers, the man with the clout,  
The chantyman bent at the halliards putting a tune to the shout,  
The drowsy man at the wheel and the tired look-out.

These, for the main part, are the men for whom Mr. Masfield has concerned himself; those who not only work for their living but live by the sweat of their brows, with no protection, no patron, between them and the struggle for their daily bread.

Mr. Masfield's first book of verse was the characteristic *Salt-Water Ballads*, a clear nautical equivalent of Kipling's *Barrack-Room Ballads* published in the previous decade. But though it sought to do for sailors what Kipling's collection had done for soldiers—to offer to the reader not only stories and sketches of such men pursuing their calling but to capture the spirit itself of this calling, the ethos of a special walk of life—there is no real qualitative comparison between Kipling's and Mr. Masfield's books. *Salt-Water Ballads* has a tone of its own, but there are no pieces in it equal in status to Kipling's fine poem *Danny Deevee*. What *Salt-Water Ballads* does demonstrate to us is Mr. Masfield's lively power of interest in sailor lives and sailor lingo. In the first edition of the book there appeared as epitaph these words from *The Licentiate Vidriera*: "The mariners are a pleasant people, but little like those in the towns, and they can speak no other language than that used in ships."

In reproducing the gossip and yarning of the deck and forecastle, Mr. Masfield showed his ability to catch the note of spoken speech, the inflexion and diction of an esoteric tongue. It is this property, among some others, which helps to give his poem *The Everlasting Mercy* the vigour, reality and bite it possesses. Only here the "dialect" is that of the countryman—a Herefordshire market-townsmen in the nineteenth century. It was this poem, originally published in the *English Review* in 1911, which put Mr. Masfield in the centre of the map. Lines such as the following served to intrigue and shock the reader:

I'll bloody him a bloody fix,

I'll bloody burn his bloody ricks.

*The English Review*, for the first time, sold out. Such was the force, in those far-off days, of a sanguinary epithet. But quite beyond its shock-appeal, *The Everlasting Mercy* was a compelling work. The story of a roaring young wastrel, Saul Kane, it is also the story of a great conversion—one of the few successful examples of conversion imaginatively treated. At a first glance, it may appear surprising that the yeast-like working of the Evangelical Movement should have found so few monuments in literature of a permanent and memorable order. We have the many records, simple or more complex, of those who underwent conversion themselves, but outside of these direct testaments there exists a great dearth in creative literature of an impressive treatment of this theme. The probable reason is that the Evangelical Movement (with its later nineteenth-century Revivalist off-shoot) was hardly a general cultural movement, and thus escaped the attention of most of the finer novelists and poets. (A telling contemporary document in this matter is John Foster's essay *On some of the Causes by which Evangelical Religion has been rendered unacceptable to Persons of Cultivated Taste*.) This tract and aspect of English life, Masfield has rescued and preserved; and, quite apart from its artistic merits, *The Everlasting Mercy* has importance as relating the tale of a sudden conversion—conversion, that is, according to the Evangelical formula. In fact, the poem is brimming with broad human interest and drama. Poaching; a fight in the moonlit fields; an uproarious night of debauch; a temptation to suicide; and a mad run, naked, through a sleeping town—these are some of the incidents which go to make up a tumultuous story. Indeed, there is little enough of the badly-written gospeller's tract about the poem, unless we except the first twenty-four lines (which E. V. Knox of *Punch* parodied not unjustly in his poem *The Everlasting Percy*). After this salvationist's little outburst, the poem rings authentic to the end; as clear and sure in its unfolding of wrong-doing as in its final account of redemption.

Mr. Masfield is generally recognized as a hit-or-miss craftsman of prodigious powers. His expressiveness is great, his mind active and teeming to the point where revision must seem a cold and unlovely labour. *The Everlasting Mercy* is certainly a poem embedding many slips of style. At the same time, of his three great narrative poems (*Dauber* and *Reynard the Fox* are the two others), it is easily the most dynamic, the most indissolubly "given." One criticism maintained against this poem is that though it has dramatic force and flow, it lacks a proper continuity and shape. Mrs. Jaggard's long disquisition is quoted as an example of this, as an instance of "foreign matter" intruding. Artistically, this poor countrywoman's life-story (told with all the diffusiveness of the uneducated person) can be objected to. The hundred-and-forty-nine lines, in which she scolds

her little son whom she finds talking to the wastrel Kane, recounts her many domestic sorrows, and prophesies the final judgment of God in which life's injustices will be amended, look—to begin with—as if they might be excised without loss. But besides the authentic picture it gives of a dogged nineteenth-century simple woman's effort to hold her family together and bring it up to outward grace, under the triple pressure of poverty, illness, and temptation, the passage is essentially linked to the poem. Mrs. Jaggard's fiery "witness" as to the coming of the Lord prepares the soil in Kane's spirit for the seed of grace which Miss Bourne, the Quakeress, is later to plant there. This is admitted by Saul himself:

I slunk away into the night

Knowing deep down that she was right.

Looked at, then, as marking an important pre-conversion moment on the road to eventual salvation, the passage is seen to play its part, to perform an integral rôle in the poem.

The actual illumination which, at length, dawns on Kane's spirit is touched off by some few words of a Quaker spinster. There is no great distinction in them; only a gentleness and sincerity in the tone of their being uttered. But they are spoken at the crucial minute. Miss Bourne's Gospel message may appear naïve, but is clearly the right stuff for rough chaps like Kane. In his encounter with the parson, Kane had been confronted by more close and ingenious argument. But because of the parson's compromise with the material comforts of life, Saul had remained quite unimpressed. He knew he was worsted, but stayed unconvinced:

The trained mind outs the upright soul,

As Jesus said the trained mind might,

Being wiser than the sons of light,

But trained men's minds are spread so thin

They let all sorts of darkness in;

Whatever light man finds they doubt it,

They love not light, but talk about it.

*The Everlasting Mercy* is one of those rare poems (and here we may think of Chaucer and Donne) in which realism and lyricism vigorously and unexpectedly combine. *Dauber* (1913), which tells the tragedy of a divided spirit (half-mariner, half-painter), maintains much of this combination. But the seven-line stanza (Rhyme Royal) employed throughout the poem puts a brake on the more rapid effects gained by the couplet in *The Everlasting Mercy*. Here, in *Dauber*, the exigencies of rhyme tend to fill out the descriptive passages. Metaphor and simile proliferate beyond their terse economic use in the earlier poem:

Si was asleep, sleeping a calm deep sleep,

Still as a warden of the Egyptian dead

In some old haunted temple buried deep

Under the desert sand, sterile and red.

The Dauber shook his arm; Si jumped and said

"Good yarn, I swear! I say, you have a brain—

Was that eight bells that went?" He slept again.

Lines two to four of this stanza are a "literary" interpolation, and a poeticism such as would not have been met within *The Everlasting Mercy*.

Herbert Palmer has made very substantial claims for Mr. Masefield. He describes him as "a poet of the emotions . . . probably the greatest

poet of the primitive passions since Shakespeare."<sup>3</sup> When we think of the wild cast of characters in the poet's first two important poems, we incline to assent to this. Both these works can be considered as belonging to the poet's romantic phase. Both of them feature introspection and action. Defining the end of romantic art as being a species of self-knowledge, we can view *The Everlasting Mercy* and *Dauber* as two imposing romantic narratives, two of the most memorable in this century.

Certain critics, however, have preferred Mr. Masefield's *Reynard the Fox* (1919) to either of these earlier pieces. The opening of this poem obviously echoes the overture to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, with fox-hunters and followers substituted for a gathering of pilgrims. This is Mr. Masefield's most objective poem—the classical answer to his romantic *début*. In it, he returns to the rhyming couplet, and the passages describing the fox's fleet-foot run go with the bracing speed of the wind. John Middleton Murry read into this poem a nostalgia for a way of life which was passing even as the poet wrote. In an essay published in 1920, he spoke of Mr. Masefield's "self-appointed end" as "the glorification of England in narrative verse."<sup>4</sup> That the poet's work has redounded to the celebration of our native ethos is hardly to be questioned. But what is highly arguable is that this was Mr. Masefield's "self-appointed end"—the one thing held in mind when he sat down to write. It makes of him a national and patriotic poet, in a certain overt sense, which he is not. Again, one may query the conscious deposit of nostalgia in this poem. With the racy optimism of *The Canterbury Tales* as something of a model in his mind, Mr. Masefield would seem to have forgone much of the indulgent enjoyment of regret. The poem, too, is a comedy in that Reynard the hero escapes, another fox being taken in his place. Mr. Masefield has written much besides the three long works<sup>5</sup> here considered, his *Collected Poems* alone running to over nine hundred and fifty pages. For vigour, authenticity, and lyrical grace they are not, however, easily matched. The stamina of the poet is in them. Here is his quintessential contribution. DEREK STANFORD.

<sup>1</sup> *New Paths on Helicon*.

<sup>2</sup> *Post-Victorian Poetry* (1938).

<sup>3</sup> *Post-Victorian Poetry*.

<sup>4</sup> Contained in *Aspects of Literature* (1920).

<sup>5</sup> Muriel Spark, in her excellent study of the Laureate John Masefield (1953) also chooses these three poems as the substance of her dissertation.

## TEN YEARS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

THIS year is the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the Assembly of the United Nations.

It is being, or is to be, celebrated in all the 80 countries which are members of the Assembly. There is indeed not much cause for rejoicing because, after the resounding Declaration was published, "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations," little was done to implement it. The preamble states that "every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms, and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their

universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction." It is true that two Covenants were drafted, after much labour, by the Human Rights Commission with a view to putting into a more precise form the principles of the Declaration, so that they should be binding on those States which would ratify the Covenants. One dealt with civil and political, the other with economic and social, Rights.

The Government of the United States, however, which at the Conference at San Francisco had taken the initiative in making the international assurance of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms an integral part of the Charter, had second thoughts, in view of the Cold War. It announced that it would not be a party to the Covenants, and in place of them proposed to the Human Rights Commission "a programme for action," so-called. That was a euphemism for a programme of inaction, substituting study of certain Human Rights, reports about their national application, and the extension of the advisory services of the United Nations to the less advanced countries, in matters of such rights, for any undertaking of legal obligations with regard to the Rights as a whole, or any specific part of them. Nevertheless, the drafting of the Covenants was completed; and they were passed some years ago by the Economic and Social Council to the Assembly of the United Nations. There they are being meticulously and slowly examined, article by article, in one of the Committees. At the present rate of progress it will be years before they can be adopted. In the meantime no machinery has been set up by the United Nations to deal effectively with petitions and complaints of violation or denial of the Rights proclaimed in the Declaration, though annually thousands are received by the Secretariat and notified to the Human Rights Commission. Naturally, a feeling of frustration has been aroused, particularly among the younger States and among the Non-Governmental Organizations—N.G.O.s as they are called—which are concerned with these matters, and have been given consultative status with the Council and the Commission.

It is a paradoxical situation that the big Western Powers, the United Kingdom, U.S.A. and France, which have in their own country a strong tradition, and effective national machinery, for assuring these Rights and freedoms to their citizens, have damped down attempts to set up any international organs in the United Nations or establishing similar instruments. Some Asian, African and South-American States, on the other hand, have pressed, and continue to press for action. The Soviet Union also and her satellites consistently press for the adoption of the Covenants defining the Rights, particularly those in the Economic and Social Covenant; though they did not adopt the Declaration, and though at the same time they oppose any idea of an international tribunal to examine complaints. For that would be an interference with the sacred principles of national sovereignty. It was opportune that, on the ninth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration, a Private Members' Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by the Hon. Antony Wedgwood Benn to make provision for the establishment of Human Rights Commissions in the British non-self-governing colonies and protectorates. The Bill was authorized to be printed; but it had a scant hearing in the House on a Friday early this year. It should come up again for consideration during this tenth year. The purpose of the Bill, which is the first on the subject to be introduced in the English Parliament, is to enable Her Majesty,



by Order-in-Council, to provide for a Commission in each and every one of 40 or more territories which are non-self-governing. It is there that some action is called for to assure respect for human rights. In the United Kingdom itself Parliament is vigilant to see that the individual citizen enjoys these rights and fundamental liberties. The Human Rights Commissions, which may be set up by Order-in-Council, would comprise persons who are members of all the main races resident in the territory; and, in territories where representative institutions exist, would include persons elected to serve on the Legislative Council. They would have power to publish and make available the Declaration in the territory, to enquire into the extent to which the provisions of the Declaration are being implemented, and to investigate, if they think fit, reports submitted to them, by individuals or organizations, complaining of a denial of human rights. This last power and the qualification are both significant. It would be a great step forward if within the Commonwealth machinery were set up for examining complaints, as can now be done in the Council of Europe; and discretion is given to the Commissions in order to prevent the abuse of the right of petition by subversive elements.

Another function which it is proposed to confer on the Commission is to publish a full report containing an account of its work in the preceding year, a list and brief description of the complaints submitted, and a report of any action taken, and a report on the extent to which the Declaration is implemented in the territory, with any recommendations for future progress. That is the kind of action which, in the heyday of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, it was fondly hoped that an international body would undertake. The British Commonwealth could give an example to the world by an earnest effort to implement the first principles of the Declaration.

The last session, the fourteenth, of the Human Rights Commission, which was held at the headquarters of the United Nations in March and April this year, under the Presidency of the representative of Ceylon, was less negative and barren than some of its recent predecessors. It resolved on the continuance of annual sessions, although a Committee, appointed by the Economic and Social Council, had recommended that the Commission should in future meet bi-ennially. It resolved also to continue the annual publication of a Yearbook on Human Rights, though its size may be controlled. The Governments, moreover, have been asked to submit triennial reports on their action concerning Human Rights, and the Secretary-General is to prepare suggestions which will guide the Governments in the preparation. For the first issue only 35 of the 80 member States submitted reports, covering the years 1954/6.

What was more revolutionary and encouraging was that, by a narrow majority of nine for, seven against, and one abstention—the Commission is composed of 18 members—the Commission resolved to appoint a seven-member Committee to study the problem of “communications.” The term is used for the petitions and complaints which are received by the Secretariat; and this Committee is to recommend to the Commission at its next session a procedure in handling communications, “which is better calculated to promote respect for and observance of fundamental Human Rights.” The resolution was proposed by Argentine, Belgium, Israel and the Philippines; and those nations—except Belgium—are members of the Committee, together with India, Italy, Lebanon and the



Ukraine. Years ago the Economic and Social Council passed a Resolution, which provides that the Commission has no power to take any action in regard to the complaints concerning Human Rights; but that may now be reconsidered. In order to avoid the abuse of the Right of Petition and irresponsible complaints, one of the N.G.O.s urged that only petitions which are sponsored by a Non-Government Organization should be examined, so as to assure a reasonable basis for the complaint. The whole matter will be examined by the Committee; they will no doubt have regard to the procedure established by the Council of Europe in investigating complaints.

In recent years the Commission has initiated a study of discrimination in education, in religious rights and practices, and in employment and occupation. A comprehensive report on the first subject was prepared by a Lebanese expert, and is being studied by Governments. At its next session in 1959, the Commission is to draft principles about non-discrimination in educational matters, and to discuss the report. At this next meeting, also, the Commission is to consider a draft-Convention on the right of asylum, which has been circulated to Governments, a draft Declaration on the Rights of the Child, and a report on the Right to be free from arbitrary arrest. The session then marked some progress in the way of giving effect to the preamble of the Declaration. The scintilla of action is due to the initiative of the smaller States. It would be an auspicious way of celebrating the tenth anniversary if the British Parliament reconsidered the Bill about the application of Human Rights in the Colonies and Protectorates, that was introduced last year, or a similar Bill, and took some action about it. It would show that, in the Commonwealth, Great Britain pays more than lip-service to the Universal Declaration.

NORMAN BENTWICH

## THE SECOND EMPIRE. XVIII

### BARON HAUSSMANN

**H**AUSSMANN confidently proclaimed that the increasing population and prosperity of the capital provided ample security for the enormous loans. "Give Paris lungs," he argued, "and it will pay for itself." The revenues of the Municipality were rapidly increasing, and he was delighted to discover that they had been underestimated by his timid predecessor. His aims were summarized in memoranda under four heads. 1. To uncover historic and public buildings, palaces, churches, etc. 2. To improve public health by clearing away insanitary areas. 3. To construct broad boulevards, healthier and better suited to the movement of troops in case of riots. 4. To open up the approaches to the new railway termini. He quoted the injunction of *Le Roi Soleil* to Mansard: "Build, build: we will supply the money and the foreigner will pay it off." Though he knew little of the history of the city he arranged for the collection of illustrative documents at the Musée Carnavalet.

The most spectacular achievement was the construction of boulevards, based on a master plan of two great arteries north-south and east-west, with many connecting roads. He was assailed with loud cries of vandalism, extravagance, robbing the people of their homes, compensation claims

degenerating into a ramp. That the whole scheme cost more than expected was inevitable, and appeared to him and the Emperor a trifle in comparison with the enormous improvement in appearance, convenience and public health. Less outwardly impressive but no less vital to the welfare of the city was the supply of pure water from outside the Paris basin, the network of sewers, and the measures for the disposal of sewage. He was also the first to deal with cemeteries in relation to public health. The most popular of the changes was the beautification of public parks and open spaces, including the Champs Elysées and the Bois de Boulogne. Further improvements were effected in the quais and bridges, the building of the most sumptuous opera house in Europe, churches and schools, asylums and homes for incurables, markets and abattoirs, town halls, theatres, barracks, hospitals, the restoration of Notre Dame and the Elysée. Though thousands of dwellings were demolished, many more were built. When Jules Ferry charged him with lacking all sense of legality, he replied that he was working for the welfare of the community and enjoyed the complete confidence of the Emperor.

Hausmann was never fully satisfied with his official status. He dreamed of the creation of a new Ministry of Paris, himself at the helm, with the title and rank of Minister, carrying with it the right to speak in the Conseil d'Etat and freedom from all control except that of the Emperor. Annoyed by opposition to two of his schemes in the Conseil d'Etat in 1860, he threatened to resign unless he was allowed to plead for them on equal terms. He enclosed a draft decree for the Emperor's approval: "The Baron Hausmann, Senator, Prefect of the Seine, has the rank of Minister and the right to sit in our Council of State. He will assume the title of Minister of Paris." That, replied the Emperor, was impossible; but his powers were increased and he was allowed to attend the Conseil d'Etat as an Extraordinary member. The Emperor's decision was due to the resistance of important Ministers, especially Rouher and Baroche, who treated the Prefect with marked coolness when he took part in the Conseil d'Etat. Viel-Castel, who believed the worst of everybody, regarded him with contempt and resented the Emperor's favour. "A cunning scoundrel like Hausmann, if enterprising and useful, will be well treated and spoiled. His hand will be pressed and he will be received with beaming smiles." A partial consolation was found in his election to the Académie des Beaux Arts and the calling of a boulevard after his name.

His finest hour was the Great Exhibition of 1867. He had served on the Committee which began its work in 1863. All the celebrities visited the Hôtel de Ville where they were suitably entertained, and no Frenchman of his time received so many foreign decorations. His portrait at this proud moment was drawn by Mme. Baroche, whose husband was no friend. "He is very big. But like most of his buildings he excels by size: rather than by grace or harmony, a Titan, not an Apollo. An Attila of expropriation, he destroyed Paris in order to make it greater than all France." A commonplace talker with conventional ideas, she continued, he only became eloquent and interesting when dilating on his own achievements. In such a man neither taste nor modesty could be expected, yet he deserved a place in history and would have it. Rouher was often called the Vice-Emperor, declared Thiers; the real Vice-Emperor was the Prefect of the Seine. Rouher required the skill of a tight-rope walker to combine his jealousy of Hausmann's influence with his sincere respect for their common master.

The ideal of a renovated capital, he argued, was excellent, and the busy ruler could not be held responsible for any mistakes in carrying it out. Though Haussmann was roughly handled in the Senate and the Chamber, no one questioned his personal incorruptibility. He multiplied irregularities and cared nothing for rules, declares Ollivier, but he was obsessed by the artist's passionate longing to witness the completion of his work. During the Great Exhibition master and servant looked back on the long struggle.

*Haussmann:* If I had foreseen all the difficulties, jealousies, calumnies, intrigues, I would have refused the invitation.

*Emperor:* I too have had my difficulties (taking his hand affectionately). I understand you, for you are not the only person to suffer from injustice and ingratitude. They are aiming at me through the man who serves me with rare fidelity. I, too, am faithful, and will remain so to the end in the promise of my friendship.

The offer of a large sum to provide for the years of his retirement was declined on the ground that this was needless. "You have given me something of inestimable value—your affection."

As a firm believer in benevolent autocracy Haussmann frowned on the Liberal Empire, and the appointment of Ollivier in January, 1870, closed his official career. He would not work with him, he declared, nor would he be associated in any way with the new regime. "The Liberal Empire! But was it not already liberal in the best and widest sense? Resting on universal suffrage, was it not the complete expression of the country? What former ruler was so constantly concerned with the wellbeing of the people? The Parliamentary Empire! I would have nothing to do with it, convinced that it would lead us to disaster. So I decided to leave the Hôtel de Ville without compensation and without alternative plans." The Emperor, by this time in failing health and with a weakening will, told him that he must resign. "Nothing of the sort," was the reply. "They must either dismiss me or keep me." The bitterness remained for the rest of his life.

From his villa on the Riviera the fallen Prefect witnessed "with stupefaction" the virtual abdication of his old master. "A Napoleon with the almost nominal sovereignty of Louis Philippe: what a bad joke!" That he had changed his views he did not believe, but he had always been easily impressed, and Ollivier had a golden tongue. "To restore the Parliamentary régime which he had overturned, to abandon the power he had exercised with distinction for 17 years, was the limit." Returning to Paris in May, 1870, he was agreeably surprised to find the Emperor dissatisfied with his modest role as a constitutional ruler, and with a low opinion of his new Ministers and their chief. When they were alone after lunch at Saint-Cloud on June 13 the host amazed his visitor by his opening words.

*Emperor:* I wish to change my Ministry. Yes, I never imagined such incapacity. We must form a *Grand Ministère* together at the close of the session.

*Haussmann:* I will do my best to help, but I have no wish to return to public life. Some subordinate appointment would be the limit of my ambition. With my convictions I should be a misfit in any Cabinet. That is why in the past I declined the portfolios you offered me, and confined myself in the discussions of the Council to the affairs of Paris. If I were still of use it would only be on condition of having my hands free in any task assigned to me, of course under the authority of my master.

*Emperor*: Do you imagine I should offer you a minor position?

*Haussmann*: You would replace the Parliamentary Liberal Empire by the Authoritarian Liberal Empire?

*Emperor* (decisively): Yes. My recent experience proves that with us power, to be respected, must be in a single hand and strong.

Haussmann proceeded to develop his programme in a series of interviews with his old master with a view to the restoration of autocracy, reserving for the decision of a plebiscite or referendum any serious conflict with the Legislature. Agreeing on the essential issues they differed about the timing of a new *coup d'état*. The Emperor intended to wait till the end of the session and the departure of the Deputies. Such delay, protested his visitor, would be dangerous, for no one knew what irremediable errors the inexperienced Ministers might commit in the meantime. The Emperor responded: "I will see to that." When Ollivier read this extraordinary story in Haussmann's Memoirs many years later he exploded: "If this is true; if, after giving me so many proofs of confidence and friendship; if, in the evening of the day on which he had thanked me for my talent and devotion he had described me as a nitwit, he would have been the basest of men. If, on the morrow of the plebiscite, he had contemplated a *coup d'état* against the national verdict, he would have been the most imbecile of politicians. Such an outrage on his memory as this narrative has never been known." Did Haussmann, never a friend of Ollivier, invent or misrepresent the utterances of the Emperor? We cannot tell.

On the outbreak of war he returned to Paris, went straight to the Tuileries, and offered his services. Finding the Empress and some officers in the council room he was invited to join them. After a General had urged the declaration of a state of siege, someone pointed out that there were no troops in the capital. Asked by the Empress to speak, Haussmann argued for such a declaration as essential for the safety of the dynasty and the capital, the necessary troops to be summoned from Algeria and elsewhere. At her request he was asked to draft the proclamation, which he did without leaving the table. No other task was assigned to him before the Empire collapsed. A few months later the Tuileries and Saint-Cloud, the scene of many eager exchanges with his old master, and the Hôtel de Ville, where he planned his reforms and had ruled like a Dictator, went up in flames. The boulevards remained. *Si momentum requiris circumspice.*

G. P. GOOCH

*To be continued.*

### HAD HITLER JEWISH BLOOD?

THE figure of Amfortas, the ailing king of the Grail in *Parsifal* fascinated Hitler. Around 1933, when he was still free to indulge in his dreams of artist and thinker, he once in a discussion with Rauschning gave free rein to his admiration of Wagner and his work. Later on the task of constituting the Great Germanic Reich in the continent between Calais and the Urals absorbed all his energy, and the warlord banished the artist and thinker from the scene. "He had discovered with almost hysterical excitement, that everything written by that great

man (Wagner) that he read was in agreement with his own innermost, subconscious, dormant conviction. The problem, he cried, is this: How can we arrest racial decay? What is the true content of this most profound drama, apart from its Christian embroidery? The king is suffering from the incurable ailment of corrupted blood. All of us are suffering from the ailment of mixed, corrupted blood." In the case of Amfortas we know the origin of his ailment; he has enjoyed the love of the daughters of the desert in Kundry's enchanted garden; he has committed 'racial disgrace' (to use the revolting jargon of the former régime) and has to pay the price.

Why does Hitler stress with such hysterical emphasis the general validity of this terrible biological law: (*all of us are suffering*). Is this only a rhetorical figure, or is it a deeply personal and shattering problem which works itself into the foreground and raises its Gorgon-head? Hitler is beyond suspicion of having ever made love to the daughters of the desert; his complete lack of animal vitality, of feeling and warmth, the icy coldness of a damned soul, make him perfectly secure. The key to his terrible secret is to be looked for elsewhere, and we find it in Jetzinger's important book: *Hitlers Jugend* (Vienna 1956). Jetzinger, a grammar school teacher at Linz, has unearthed facts of central importance and, as a valuable addition, he also discloses the slum-milieu in which Hitler's unique personality originated. There can be no doubt today, that he was of part-Jewish origin, or, at the very least, that he was forced to believe that he, too, suffered from the "evil of mixed and corrupted blood." According to Jetzinger, Hitler's grandmother on his father's side, Maria Anna Schicklgruber (1796-1847), gave birth in 1837 to an illegitimate child, who became the father of Hitler, Alois Schicklgruber (1837-1905). Nearly five years later this woman married an unemployed miller named Johann Georg Hiedler (1792-1857). If Alois had been a pre-marital child of this Hiedler, the father would have legitimized him at once or in the course of the marriage and taken him into his house. But nothing of that sort happened: Alois was educated in the house of Johann Nepomuk Hiedler, a younger brother of Johann Georg.

This foster-father of Alois Schicklgruber went at some time in 1876, accompanied by three witnesses (all of them illiterates who, no doubt, affixed their signatures by crosses), to the priest of the small village in which Alois had been born in 1837. The priest drew up a legal document, according to which "Georg Hiedler, who is well known to the witnesses, has accepted and acknowledged the deposition of Anna Schicklgruber that he was the father of her child, and demands the entry of his name in the parish register." Thereupon Alois, then already thirty, was legitimized as the son of Johann Georg Hiedler (who had died 19 years earlier), by an appropriate entry in the parish register, and henceforth called himself Alois Hitler. With his intimate knowledge of the appropriate procedure, Jetzinger proved not only that this legitimization was invalid according to Austrian law but also that the depositions of the witnesses were wholly unreliable.

Now we have to transfer ourselves to the Nuremberg prison of 1946, where, among others, Hans Frank, Governor-General of Poland, awaits execution. He wrote down in haste an account of his life, and reported that Hitler towards the end of 1930 showed him a letter from his nephew William Patrick Hitler, the son of a half-brother, Alois Hitler, who had settled in Paris and married an Irish woman. There was an allusion in this



letter to an illegitimate Jewish grandfather of Hitler and Hitler regarded the letter as an attempt at blackmail: rumours had already then appeared in the international press, but William Patrick seems to have threatened to divulge the actual facts. Commissioned by Hitler, Frank then undertook investigations which produced the following information: Anna Schicklgruber, Hitler's grandmother, was employed at Graz (Austria) as cook by the Jewish family of Frankenberger. Frankenberger had paid alimony on behalf of his son (then 19 years old) for Schicklgruber's child (who became Hitler's father) till his fourteenth year.

There also existed a correspondence between Frankenberger and Hitler's grandmother, based on the unspoken consent of all concerned that Schicklgruber's child had been begotten in circumstances which made Frankenberger liable to pay alimony. Hitler then did not deny all these facts disclosed by Frank, but he tried to extricate himself in the following way: He knew that his father was not conceived through intercourse with young Frankenberger, which he did not, however, deny. He knew that his father issued from the pre-marital relations of his grandmother with the man who later became her husband. But they were both poor, and Frankenberger paid alimony for fourteen years as a highly welcome contribution to their miserable household. As he was well-to-do they had named him as the father, and he paid, being afraid of a law-suit and publicity. Hitler did not hesitate to ascribe to his grandmother this particular meanness in order so to avoid the odium of part-Jewish origin, but he did not deceive Frank, who remained convinced that Hitler was part-Jewish. He writes: "According to these disclosures Hitler himself was a quarter-Jew and his hatred of Jews was partly caused by hatred of his relatives which originated from a 'revolt of his blood.'" He continued "This whole affair was very shocking."

Very shocking, indeed! When besides all this we consider the horrible conditions in which Hitler—very much by his own fault, as we learn again from Jetzinger—lived, the life of a down-and-out, a verminous vagabond peddling "artistic" self-designed picture-postcards in Viennese coffee houses, spending the nights in a doss-house when he was able to collect the few pence for a bed in a common dormitory—then we perceive the unique hatred of himself and of the world. He managed in the end to set the world aflame and died the death of a Chicago gangster "taken for a ride" and killed in the car. A body is thrown out in some dark corner, petrol is poured on it and set alight—there remains only the stench of burnt petrol and carbonized flesh. The "Nuremberg Laws" are thus only a reflection of his personal drama. In his youth he had a strong fixation on his mother—probably the only real attachment of this lonely wolf—and he must have hated his father with the whole burning and infernal hatred of which he was capable: self-hatred, hatred against the illegitimate Jewish blood in his veins, hatred against the Jewish "ravisher" of his "Aryan" grandmother and against his whole race. This then is the wound of Amfortas: the wound which can never be healed.

Finally the fates of Hitler and Wagner become intertwined in a strange way. We know that Wagner, the "hairstylist from Saxony," as Gottfried Keller called him, with the sharply contrasted inter-mixture of genius with revolting and pathological features, exercised a profound spell on him. Hitler became the protégé in his early Munich years of the Hanfstaengl and Bruckmann families, and through them he became intimately acquainted

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MARCEL P. HORNIK

## PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS IN BRAZIL

**B**RAZILIA, the speck in the heart of red territories 600 miles west of Rio de Janeiro and of Sao Paulo, which must to obey the law become the new capital by April 21, 1960, divides audible Brazilians into uncompromising camps. Opponents include rich folk who will miss the present capital's unsurpassable glamour centred about the white and silver beaches of a wonder bay, and, for some, a night life that rivals the industry of pre-war Berlin in supplying intelligence, beauty and absence of inhibition by gracious Negresses (in a country delightfully free from race, religion or colour prejudices at most levels). Other critics of Brazilia, in the fastest growing city in the world, Sao Paulo, declare that the plans are inexcusable, for they involve incalculable astronomic outlay at a time when Brazil's economic and financial position is, unquestionably, grave. They point out that, the 1958 budget originally showing estimated receipts of cruzeiros 111,000 million and expenditure of 121,000 million, was finally voted by Congress with receipts estimated optimistically at 130,000 million, and expenditure at 140,500 million. Moreover, in the city whose population has recently surpassed that of Rio and now stands at over 3,500,000, where coffee and car production and other wealth-giving industries predominate, there is no topic as popular as the national life-giver. Brazil supplies half the world's coffee production. The size of Europe, Brazil stretches about 2,500 miles from north to south, about 2,500 miles east to west, has a coast line on the Atlantic of 4,579 miles. The population of about 62 million

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is increasing by two per cent a year. Unfortunately, people in money-conscious countries who urgently, pathetically and endlessly need good coffee, pay heed these days to "extracts," to prices more than to quality. Brazilian production of coffee has recently soared and various defensive schemes to keep up the price among suppliers in neighbouring states have included the laying up of immense stocks in Brazilian docks, warehouses and cinemas on the north coast. Additionally, there is dread for the possible results of the European common market—might it not lead to Britain's flooding Europe with coffee from the Empire, Kenya and Jamaica, with Holland, Belgium and France tapping their African, West Indian dependencies? Thus 1957 saw the export of 14.3 million bags valued at 845.5 million dollars, or, 2.4 million bags less than in 1956, with the value down by 183 million dollars. At home and abroad the Rio government took steps to stop the downward trend in world prices at the end of 1957. But what is to happen to stocks so enormous? Are coffee bon-fires, an appalling memory, to return? I may be forgiven a personal note on the lunacy of the world economy. Thirty-two hours after I had left Rio de Janeiro airport, the neat little customs man representing Bonn, courteously asked me at the German-French rail frontier if I had anything to declare, perhaps some coffee in my portable typewriter and suitcase? Opponents of the Brazilian project also point, of course, to the dancing of the *cruzeiro*—on Monday I was asked to pay 68 *cruzeiros* for a film and on Thursday afternoon 92, while beneath the gigantic and truly impressive statue of Christ 2,300 feet above Rio, the shopkeeper was satisfied with 70 *cruzeiros*. It would be easy to cite endless statistics to show the parlous possibilities of the *cruzeiro*, but I doubt whether the jeremiahs are conscious of the immense flow into the country of private funds from the rich neighbouring territories and from banks and international groups. All have faith.

It would be folly to exclude the pressure exercised on the head of state to enter into trade discussions with the Russians—who are without an embassy in Rio de Janeiro. Russia will buy coffee and pay handsomely for enormous quantities by supplying machinery and technical aid. The diplomatic book in Brazil shows entries for the Envoy of Lithuania, for the Envoy of Latvia; Yugoslavia is represented by a general of national repute, whose linguistics would put lots of diplomatists to shame. The British Embassy occupies about three pages, the Mission of the U.S.A. about six pages—and the chancery of the latter must rival the largest building in Europe. In Sao Paulo the British Information office at the Consulate-General is run on a weary little shoe string, one chief, two secretaries and two minor assistants—that of the United States is an affair of dozens; the French Consulate-General is reinforced by grace and charm in which our neighbours specialize. It is impressive.

But there are pleasing trends, if not more than that, on the Anglo-Brazilian trading front. In the years 1953-1957 the U.K. imported from Brazil to the value of £28.9 million, £37.0 million, £31.8 million, £26.7 million and £30.7 million, respective exports being £17.7 million, £8.8 million, £6.5 million, £15.0 million and £18.4 million. But, if I might repeat the plea of leaders of our influential Chamber of Commerce, in words recalling the views our young and alert Ambassador (Sir Geoffrey Harrison) spoke to me: "Vast opportunities which exist in Brazil for British enterprise more than compensate for the additional effort required to maintain and enhance our stake in this great country. If other nations are able to



concentrate their attention on Brazil and make notable inroads in the market, why cannot we?" The Chamber asks, in words I would not try to alter, "Can it be that the spirit of competitive aggressiveness is lacking in our case?" The conclusion is drawn, yes in 1958, that the fault may be due to "the ignorance which frequently exists about Brazilian laws and regulations, and banking and business procedure," as well as "the idea that suitable agents can be arranged at short notice, or while a ship is in port."

What of some of the country's problems? A danger to stability in this or any other democracy may flow from public impatience at the state of transport in the cities, in trains, in tramways and omnibuses—with bunches of human grapes perilously clinging to portions of archaic sides that rattle along excellent roads at 40 or 50 miles an hour. The conductors perform miracles of film star standard in collecting fares. President Jcelino Kubitchek showed another example of rare vision when he spoke recently of 1957 as "the year of the Brazilian motor vehicle." What will happen to the solid blocks of traffic that now turn Rio and Sao Paulo into impassable avenues when the 16 new factories (one bears, I think, a British name) bring forth 91,130 new lorries, and cars in 1958, 169,000 in 1959 and 232,000 in 1960?

Brazilia is favoured by friends of the President for many sound reasons. I will begin with one not normally mentioned. With noble natural advantages, warmth, exotic colour, a bay of celestial grandeur Rio provides too many sharp economic and other contrasts. Let Brazilia copy, then, the civilized Swiss system—a quiet capital like Berne, and Rio and Sao Paulo will stay as the Zurich and Lausanne and Basle. With 750,000 people transferred 950 kilometres inland, to the west, trade will flow away from the weary, crowded coastal strip—the vast new road works will aid industrial development. Sao Paulo and Rio will breathe better, for a while. (Already in Sao Paulo aircraft leave every few minutes and the passengers in my machine for Brazilia all walked dressed as if prepared for a hop from Fleet Street to Golders Green.) The world's architects will be stimulated, astounded, startled, by what they will see in Brazilia—thought first for the children, for women, for school life, for prompt and easy shopping of essentials, for churches and cinemas round the corner, for safety from noisy cars or smelly lorries, parks, trees, dignity, and order.

President Kubitchek, descendant of Czechs, the medical student who at night tapped messages in a provincial telegraph office, handles almost all problems personally. For an hour or so before my chat I watched the public performance of his duties. The deputies, heads of industry, political leaders, sat at his side, argued, pleaded, succumbed to the warm smile, to the touch of the hand on their shoulders, the promise. Eighteen years after the Battle of Britain I landed in Rio de Janeiro in one of Air France's "show" liners, 22 hours after leaving Paris. An eight or nine course dinner was served 25,000 feet up in the style worthy of France, with vintage champagne, caviare and smoked salmon. In September, 1960, Boeing 707 machines with four reactors will slice this incredible performance by half—the flying time is to be about 12 hours, Paris-Rio de Janeiro. And I was assured by Monsieur Pierre Larcher, manager for South America, that 110 passengers will be carried at a time. Twice a week Air France will link London with the cities of Latin America. As we spoke I looked about me. The aircraft from Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Brazil, the U.S.A. stood about us. The Commonwealth was represented by the most ancient

trams I have seen in the world. Eighteen years after the Battle of Britain.

GEORGE BILAINKIN

## TRENDS IN GREECE

THE intense interest which the foreign Press representatives in Athens manifested in the recent Greek General Election—there were more than 60 compared with about half that number in the 1956 election—was symptomatic of the importance which the world attaches to present political trends in Greece. Ironically enough, the great interest was in inverse ratio to the “indifference,” the “cynicism,” and even the “contempt”—all three expressions have been used by the Athens newspapers of all political parties—with which Britain and Turkey in particular, and the United States in a lesser degree, are considered to have treated Greece over the Cyprus question. With this involved issue, of course, made a thousand times worse, as the Greeks claim with some reason, by British encouragement of the Turks, was the subservient position to which Greece, historic defender of freedom and democracy in that part of the world, seemed to have been relegated in the defence of the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East. The Greeks have seen their historic enemy, the Turks, who fought against the Free World in the first world war and sat on the fence whilst Greece bled in the second conflagration, lauded as our “staunch allies” and surfeited with American aid.

As was not unexpected even by London, but with Washington strangely out of tune with political realities and certainly current Greek moods, despite an earnest American desire to keep Greece out of the Russian camp, there has been the inevitable considerable shift of Greek votes to the Left. The National Radical Union Party of M. Karamanlis, it is true, is back in power, as the two major western democracies wished, with an overall majority of 46. Under the bitterly disputed reinforced proportional system they secured 173 seats against 79 of the extreme Left-wing EDA, or Union of Democratic Left, as it is officially called, which becomes the major opposition. In the last Parliament, M. Karamanlis commanded 155 deputies in a Chamber of 300, the combined Opposition strength being composed of Liberals and EDA in alliance. Not unnaturally, the historic Liberal Party of the late Eleutherios Venizelos, which has been temporarily eclipsed by winning only 36 seats, has strongly criticised the new method of voting, which has wrongly, they assert, given the extreme Left a “bonus” of 34 seats in the second allocation, as EDA is not a single party but a coalition. EDA polled a total of 934,842 votes, against 793,831 polled by the Liberals, the percentages being 24.3 and 20.7 respectively. M. Karamanlis’s ERE polled 1,578,513.

Whilst the substantial step to the Left cannot be denied, and carries with it an obvious warning for the Western Powers, its significance should neither be magnified nor under estimated. In the first place, though the proscribed KKE may hide its real intentions under the general label of Union of Democratic Left, the increase in the vote of EDA from zero in 1952 to 79 in the recent election does not by any means indicate that the 934,842 people who voted for the coalition are Communists, as suggested by the Athens correspondent of *The Times*, or justify the *Observer’s* headline on the

results: "Red Gains in Greece." Apart from the weaknesses or otherwise of the new voting system, there were three major issues on which the election was fought, and which induced thousands of voters to move from centre to Left: 1. The continued low standard of living of the mass of the people, with 1,000,000 unemployed and many more under-employed; 2. Deep resentment and anger with Britain over Cyprus, and disgust with America that she runs counter to her own vaunted democratic principles in backing Britain in her "evasions" and her support of the Turks; 3. Missile Bases. The third issue gained importance from the fact, exploited by the hard core of the Communists, that while Greece was being rated as of less value than Turkey in the defensive scheme of things, Britain and the United States wanted to make Greece a "target for to-night" should atomic Hell break out. Actually, if they thought they were getting a square deal all round, the Greek people would hardly bother at all about missile bases, since their acute sense of realism would make them feel that the Greek nation would be under a potential threat if Turkey possessed them and Greece did not. And though the Greeks are not likely to pay much attention to Khrushchev's warning, in an interview in the Athens independent newspaper *Ta Nea*, that Greece's participation in NATO might involve her in "dangerous warlike adventures," they may be excused if they take the Soviet Prime Minister seriously when he emphasises "the great importance of Greece in the Eastern Mediterranean." The Greeks do not take this as mere flattery; they are aware that Moscow has an axe to grind, but their pride obliges them to admit a truth which has apparently not yet dawned fully upon the Anglo-American partnership.

Not that the strongly individualistic Greeks, with an innate love of Eternal Greece, are the least likely to slide willingly into the Red orbit. Greece has its ideological fanatics, like every other country, but the so-called Communist "danger" in Greece has never been any more real than the Communist bogey of Cyprus, where the 30,000 strong Pan-Cyprian Federation of Old Trade Unions is composed overwhelmingly of Christian Greek men and women who have joined to secure better wages and working conditions. It is significant that in the elections the Left obtained most of its support from the urban districts, whilst the peasants voted fairly solidly for the return of the Karamanlis Government or for the Liberals. The farming community have been quick to see the benefits of improved irrigation, tillage, marketing and electrification, and are patient in the hope that, as the national product increases with the development of capital works so their economy and living standards will also progress. On the other hand, apart from the Cyprus dispute and bitterness against Anglo-American policy, large sections of the workers no doubt felt quickly responsive to Liberal criticism that the previous Karamanlis Government had not done much to alleviate the immediate desperate needs of the masses. The Government's programme, as is the case with Russia, has a long-term outlook, whereas, if one accepts the figures of former Prime Minister M. Tsaldaris, leader of the Populist Party, which has only four seats in the new Parliament, the number of destitute people in Greece has risen to 3.5 million, of whom the majority have incomes of hardly more than the equivalent of two shillings a day. Some of the support for the extreme Left is believed to have come from Civil Servants and white collar workers, whose salaries have not measured up to the anti-inflationary steps of the Government and the rising cost of living. As the Liberal newspaper

*Eleftheria* puts it, the swing away from the Centre has been due to "the accumulated discontent of the masses against the West", the heavy military expenditure—proportionately higher than that of any other NATO country, for it represents 40 per cent of the Budget—whilst American aid has been severely cut; and "the indifference of the State regarding the people's material needs." "The election verdict," the paper sums up, "shows that Greece is at a very critical turning point." With this comment, which, in its criticism of the two major democracies at least, expresses the view of the average Greek, one may couple the pre-Election speech of M. Papandreou, joint leader of the Liberals with M. Sophocles Veniselos: "Greece feels a deep sorrow that the leaders of the Free World do not stand up to their mission. We remain in the Western Front, but without enthusiasm."

Many Greeks, of course, feel that America directly, and Britain indirectly, want to retain Greece as a strategic outpost of the West without paying sufficient for the privilege. Their feelings are not softened when they dwell on the fact that the Turks are given about 20 dollars for every dollar that goes to Greece; according to official American figures, the total value of U.S. aid to Turkey from 1949 until June 30, 1957, was 799,900,000 dollars of which 379,800,000 was a gift. Direct American economic assistance to the Turks amounts to 80,000,000 dollars annually. The glaring disparity between the aid given to the two countries, accentuated by the fact that the State receiving the lion's share is rich in natural resources, while the other is poor in such, needs no emphasising. Nor is the position made any better for Greece by the fact that up to the present the World Bank has refused her a loan, and that the shipping slump has dealt a serious blow to the thousands of Greek seamen whose earnings contribute substantially to the national income, and that the country has run up against serious difficulties in regard to her tobacco exports. Tobacco is a main export, and last year's crop exceeded the level of 80,000,000 tons. In its efforts to assist, the Government have decided to allocate funds to exporters to enable them to buy the surplus stocks. At the same time, all Greek newspapers are agreed that the economic tasks facing the new Karamanlis Government are more formidable than before, and that, though he has a reasonable working majority to confront a resolute and determined Opposition, the Premier will have all his work cut out to keep Greece on an even keel, especially in the turbulent sea of international affairs. In Cyprus there is a dangerous reef.

The Paris independent *Le Monde* is no doubt largely right in saying that "above all, the Communist gains in the Greek elections were due to the desire of the masses for a more daring social welfare policy", but this usually realistic Paris newspaper also thought that the Greek reactions resulted from "neutralistic tendencies;" following the example of Yugoslavia and Egypt, and exasperation over Western policy in Cyprus. In the existing situation both the United States and Britain share tremendous responsibility, and the *New York Times* can hardly be credited with a capacity for dispelling false illusions at Washington by assuming that Karamanlis's "landslide victory has reaffirmed in no uncertain terms Greece's determination to remain faithful to her alliance and friendship with the United States and the other nations of the Free World." It is undoubtedly true that all Greeks, with the exception of the actual Communists, earnestly desire to stay with the West, whose civilization she created and inspired; but not at any price. There is a strong urge towards

an independent foreign policy, and just how "independent" or "neutralist" this may be will depend on the United States and Britain; on the degree that America is generous with her financial aid, to the extent that hungry Greeks do not have to choose Communism to starvation, and do not feel that a large Greek Army is being maintained to boost an Anglo-American "Free World" policy which keeps 430,000 Greeks in Cyprus under a colonial status which seems to have no end. America's share in the Cyprus muddle is just as great as, if not more than, that of Britain, since she is the acknowledged leader of the Free World; yet she has permitted Mr. Dulles to formulate a policy in the Near and Middle East that has implied an extraordinary and incredible faith in the Turk, with a very bad record in history, and which, intentionally or not, has relegated Greece, with an incomparable record in the defence of freedom, to a subservient place. The ERE newspaper *Ethnikos Kiryx* commented: "The Americans have every reason to be satisfied with ERE's success in the elections, but we have very few reasons to be satisfied with the Americans." This view is widespread. Greece is at the cross-roads, but she has no intention of falling into the maw of the Russian Red Bear, though Moscow is working overtime to make the first embrace more appealing. But despite the ideological differences between Khrushchev and Tito, the line-up of Greece with Yugoslavia in a joint policy of "neutralism" or peaceful co-existence in the Balkans—the two countries are already virtually linked in a military pact or understanding—is something that Russia would count a gain. For, although the Athens-Belgrade agreement concerns the common defence of their frontiers against attack by any third Power, obviously the extension of any strong neutralist trend towards Italy would not find favour either in Washington or London. And Italy has always been extremely sensitive about Greek and Yugoslav political trends, since she is a Mediterranean Power whose history merges with, and whose territory is adjacent to, that of the two other States concerned, and considers she has an equal interest in the Balkans. Moreover, neutralism has already gained some ground in Italy, where unemployment has favoured the Communist cause.

On Britain's part there can be no further shilly-shallying in Cyprus. A "new plan" which does not fulfill the Archbishop's main condition of self-determination after a specified and limited period of self-government has no chance of achieving a settlement. Makarios remains the key man in the quest for peace; his prestige in Greece and Cyprus remains enormous, despite the attacks from this country for his alleged complicity in the EOKA movement. Whether we like it or not, this movement is now recognized in the world outside Britain as an underground organization differing little from that of the Irish rebellion or any other, and it is unfortunate that on the eve of the Greek General Election Britain should have initiated another big search by troops in the mountains around Limassol, attendant with all the hardship for villagers resulting from curfews and damage to property. Even more unfortunate was the rounding up, like so many cattle, of 700 people at Famagusta, following the tragic shooting of two young British National Servicemen. Regrettable though the deaths of these two boys may have been, the brutal behaviour attributed to the Security Forces scarcely makes for peace on the island, for the Famagusta Human Rights Committee alleged that the number injured was well over the "official" figure of 50. At a Press conference at the Ledra Palace Hotel many Greek Cypriots showed their injuries to newspaper correspondents from far and



*Eleftheria* puts it, the swing away from the Centre has been due to "the accumulated discontent of the masses against the West", the heavy military expenditure—proportionately higher than that of any other NATO country, for it represents 40 per cent of the Budget—whilst American aid has been severely cut; and "the indifference of the State regarding the people's material needs." "The election verdict," the paper sums up, "shows that Greece is at a very critical turning point." With this comment, which, in its criticism of the two major democracies at least, expresses the view of the average Greek, one may couple the pre-Election speech of M. Papandreou, joint leader of the Liberals with M. Sophocles Veniselos: "Greece feels a deep sorrow that the leaders of the Free World do not stand up to their mission. We remain in the Western Front, but without enthusiasm."

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wide, and photographs were subsequently published in the Athens newspapers. The Famagusta Human Rights Committee rejected the Cyprus Government's denial of brutality, and said it was their "unshakeable conclusion" that the wholesale arrests constituted "a measure of collective punishment for the murder of two members of the Military Police at Varosha."

On the larger political plane, one of the most unfortunate blunders on the British Government's part was the suggestion by the Colonial Secretary that an ultimate solution for Cyprus might have to be partition. Apart from the fact that, on a land and property basis, the Turks do not own one-fifth of the island, and their contribution to the entire rural economy does not exceed nine per cent, it cannot be stressed too often that under the Lausanne Treaty Turkey renounced all rights to Cyprus, a decision that was subsequently confirmed by Kemal Ataturk, who declared that henceforth Turkey would make no claim on any territory beyond her actual boundaries. No "Trieste type" negotiations, therefore, have a chance of succeeding. The Cypriot Turks have rights, certainly, but only minority rights. The Greeks will have no Turkish bases, no partitioning.

THOMAS ANTHEM

### OSTRICH FEATHERS

TRUE is the old saying: "All that glitters isn't gold." At least a band of farmers in South Africa will vouch for this, for they rear that most curious of birds, the ostrich, and trends in fashion can turn it into a Midas. In the hands of experienced milliners its feathers can be changed for gold. Living in the Cape Province these men produce 99 per cent of the world's ostrich feathers. The bird thrives on the semi-desert land. The great boom year of the industry was in 1880, when farmers sat back and made fortunes in a matter of months. Good breeding birds were sold for £200 a pair and as much as £1,000 was given for unusually fine specimens. At that time feather boas, feather hats and feather fans were the vogue. There is little doubt that the arrival of the motor-car at the turn of the century helped to depress the industry. Women could not go motoring in ostrich feathers. The sombre black plumes of funeral horses went out of fashion, and the ostrich farmer was forced to rely upon Court plumes and Highlanders' bonnets for which there was a constant demand.

One has only to look at ostriches as they strut about a zoo to know that they are no ordinary birds. They are the biggest in the world, yet they cannot fly. And though reputedly they are regarded as the most stupid of feathered creatures, their quizzical bright eyes hold a look of cunning, as if there was no doubt in their mind as to the foolishness of human beings. Their ways are strange indeed. They try to roar like lions, but achieve nothing more than the bellow of a calf. They possess the digestion of a bullock and a kick only second-best to a mule, but it seems the only thing they have in common with other birds is to lay eggs. Their true home is the African bush. Wild ostrich flocks or herds still strut, graze and behave foolishly in the sand and sunshine of the veld, but today one rarely sees more than a few wild birds together.

Ostrich farming proper was the idea of Arthur Douglass, a British settler, in 1867. His scheme of breeding these big birds in captivity proved so successful that it led to a boom emulating those in gold and diamonds, and ostrich eggs were soon worth their weight in gold. Ostrich farming thrived and in thirteen years the founder could boast for the industry a capital of £10,000,000. The Union of South Africa was soon exporting a million pounds worth of feathers, valued at £15 per lb., and before the war of 1914 the export figures had reached three millions annually and a million birds were being farmed. A farm covers a large acreage, for these birds require a lot of room. The art of ostrich farming is to feed them well on lucerne and specially grown crops, to leave them at peace to breed, and to ensure they are not preyed upon by wild animals. The farmer, too, must watch for any suicidal tendencies, for the bird is even more stupid than our average hen. If he can charge into a wire fence and break his legs, he will certainly seek the earliest chance of doing so. Although ostriches are said to live for over one hundred years, few of them ever do so, for their careers are often ended by some foolish accident. No longer are ostriches at Oudtshoorn in the Cape Province valuable only for their feathers, for their skins compete with crocodile skins for the most ornamental bags and shoes. Bags are fetching nearly £40 each in New York. In 1946 no fewer than 10,000 birds were killed, and the U.S.A. paid £20,000 for their skins for commercial purposes.

For years naturalists have debated the question whether ostriches really bury their heads in the sand when danger threatens, but members of a South African expedition which studied them in their native haunts have declared emphatically that female ostriches do so. They were in an aeroplane which dived towards a flock of ostriches and to their astonishment they saw the hen ostriches, feet wide apart, immediately stick their heads in the sand. It is believed that they do this to conceal their conspicuous bare necks with their grey-brown body feathers, which blend with the colour of the veld. The observers in the aeroplane said that while the birds remained in their defensive position they could scarcely be seen. They noticed also that the males looked up defiantly while the chicks ran a little distance and then squatted on the sand, their natural camouflage, making them most difficult to recognize from above.

The ostrich is exemplary in his domestic relations. As soon as the full number of eggs are laid, from 15 to 20 in number, the couple share equally the labour in hatching. The male bird sits on the nest from about four in the afternoon until nine the following morning, when the hen takes her place for the day, being relieved for an hour about mid-day, when she seeks her dinner. This programme is usually followed strictly for forty days when hatching begins. When the chicks break the shell or are helped out by the parent birds the farmer secures them and has them looked after and fed, otherwise it would be impossible to tame them. However great may be the risks in the rearing and breeding, the expense of their maintenance is trifling. Crushed bones, oranges, small tortoises, fowl and turkey chickens, a kitten, a tennis ball, all find a place in the diet. Nothing comes amiss, but it is wise to provide plenty of good grain and keep less easily digested morsels out of the way. A cock has been known to swallow several yards of fencing wire and half a dozen brass cartridges, but it proved too much for its long-suffering digestive organs. An attacking ostrich can be dangerous. It has a terrific forward and downward kick, and the long nail of the larger toe cuts and tears severely. Although it cannot kick backwards, it can kick as high

as a man's face with great force, but it cannot hurt a man if he lies flat on the ground.

Ostrich chicks are attractive, downy-looking creatures, with pretty, precocious ways. They are more intelligent in infancy than in adult life. The great moment on a farm is the time of plucking. After six months they produce a crop of feathers. They can be plucked three times in two years, but to pluck them once a year is the normal procedure. The herdsmen select a bird for plucking by picking him out by the neck with a kind of shepherd's crook. It is dragged, struggling frantically, to the place of plucking. An old sock placed over its head will calm it considerably. The ostrich feather is the only feather that is evenly balanced and the feather's spine is absolutely central. In all other birds the spine does not divide the feather evenly. It is this feature that has made it prized for its decorative qualities since the days of the ancient Egyptians. An ostrich egg is equal in bulk to thirty hens' eggs. Indeed, one ostrich egg scrambled forms a meal for some twenty people. The flavour is excellent. The only eatable part of the bird is its muscular leg. It is tough but it can be made into delicious soup. Ostrich biltong is the leg of an ostrich after it has been dried and cut into strips. Perhaps this is an acquired taste.

The best feathers are those from the wings of the young cock birds at about seven months. The stumps are left in the skin and extracted some months later when they are ripe. The smaller feathers, which would fall in a natural moult, are plucked out and used for feather dusters and similar articles. A giant bird with a brain little larger than a walnut is obviously not over-blessed with intelligence. This may account for its peculiar habit of "waltzing." Both fully grown and chick ostriches will suddenly set off at full pace for a few hundred yards, then stop, raise the wings and spin round rapidly. Soon they become giddy and stumble around, and sometimes one may even break a leg in the process. A sudden alarm or a sudden change in routine is sufficient to set them performing this pointless exercise. To see an ostrich in an English zoo is to feel the call of the veld. One pictures the white-thorned "wait-a-bit" trees, the massed wild flowers of the Cape, a wide canvas of solitary veld, and in the background the towering blue mountains of the Drakensburg. Despite their size, the ostrich possesses a *joie de vivre* that well suits the dancing sunshine and the crazy patterned shade cast by the pepper trees and mimosa scrub. As the great cock birds strut along, seemingly most ludicrous, certainly unreal, one feels that perhaps Walt Disney would be able to make them fly. The character of the ostrich was well summed up in the Book of Job—"God hath deprived her of wisdom, neither hath He imparted to her understanding."

F. W. SADLER.

### THE ELECTIONS IN ITALY

THE elections on May 25, while demonstrating the quietness of the country, have not much changed the previous situation of uncertainty.

Perhaps they have even increased it when it is considered that, if the Christian Democrats have secured 12,508,674 votes against 10,836,675 in 1953 and 12,712,562 in 1948, the Communists and the Socialists with communist tendency together have secured 10,899,534 votes against



9,563,227 in 1953 and 8,137,047 in 1948. Between the two groups there is still a difference of about 1,700,000 votes in favour of the Christian Democrats, but the elected both to Parliament and the Senate are all of the left wing of the party, including leaders of the Catholic Trade Unions. While the Christian Democrats have regained the 1948 position, the communist-socialist bloc has increased by over 1,700,000 since the first post-war general elections. Under these circumstances many claim that the elections of May 25 clearly show the failure of the attempt to fight communism by competing with it in concessions to workers, in the nationalization of industries, etc., even if they have brought a noteworthy success of the Liberal Party, a success, which, however, has been much smaller than forecast in view of the total figures for the whole country. The Liberal Party secured 1,046,132 votes against 816,267 in the 1953 elections, an increase around 30 per cent; in Milan and Genoa the number of the Liberal votes has been doubled. The Liberal Party has not reached the projected target as a whole owing to its failure in Southern Italy where the Christian Democrats have developed their campaign among farmers with the support of the Church which has more influence than in the north.

The most significant confirmation that the May general elections in Italy have not eliminated the uncertainty of the political situation is offered by the polemics about the creation of the new Cabinet which, according to many leaders of the Christian Democrats, should be formed with the representatives of the left wing of the party, the democratic socialist and the Republican Party, all of whom oppose the development of private initiative in industry, trade, etc., and favour State controls, nationalization of economic activities, etc. This view has met the strongest opposition of the Christian Democrats who are tied up with the Vatican, and the *Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican daily, would not approve the admission of the Nenni Socialists to the new Cabinet. These polemics have not much influence on public opinion which cares much more about a good administration than about the success of one or the other political leaders.

If there is no doubt that since 1945 the various Cabinets have done much good, results could have been much greater if they had dealt with the settlement of the various technical and economic problems confronting them rather than oscillating between the influence of one or the other political parties. This system will probably continue in the present legislature, since the Christian Democrats have no absolute majority and must secure support from the Left or Right.

If the economy has not suffered any crisis it has already felt the general recession as confirmed by leaders of the Liberal Party; and such political uncertainty is a matter of concern particularly to industrialists and business quarters. An upswing of production and consumption is needed, but this is not an easy target when the resources of a money market are drained by the issues of bonds covering loans raised by State controlled industries, transport enterprises, etc., leaving private initiative without resources to finance its activities and to create the basis for employment without pressing on the state finance. Only 13 years have passed since the end of the *Fascist* régime which lasted over 20 years, when the youth was unable to acquaint itself with political science except *Fascist* doctrine. So it is not surprising that today there is not an abundance of political leaders. It would be very disappointing if recent effort by the Liberal Party to acquaint the youth with the principles of the *Risorgimento* were to be frustrated, and such

efforts would bear fruits at the next elections in 1963.

Genoa.

ANTONIO GIORDANO

## TEN YEARS OF NATIONALIZED RAILWAYS

**A**FTER ten years we accept national ownership of the railways as an established fact. Political considerations have ceased to be important. Even a Conservative Government admits that for 30 years before nationalization the railways were unable to undertake any extensive schemes of modernization, or indeed to keep up an adequate programme of replacements. In the early 'thirties, we are told in the 1956 White Paper "The British Transport Commission—Proposals for the Railways": "The railways, like other industries, suffered from the depression and in the subsequent years up to the war they were not in a position . . . to raise large sums of new capital." Whatever the merits or demerits of national ownership, the British Transport Commission's chairman, Sir Brian Robertson, averred in a paper delivered to the Royal United Service Institution in February, 1956: "It could scarcely be described, as some people persist in describing it, as an act of sacrilege or revolution. On the contrary, it is much more probable that historians in the future will regard it, party politics notwithstanding, as a natural sequel to the course of events in the transport world in this country since the first war." Sir Brian pointed out that 123 separate railways were finally regrouped into four main-line companies in 1921. A Royal Commission of 1930 reported: "The aim should be to harmonize the newer and the older forms of transport with the object of obtaining from each the maximum of advantage. . . . The nationalization of the railways alone—leaving other forms of transport in other hands—would certainly not produce any real co-ordination of transport." In subsequent years a series of further Acts were passed providing for certain practical means of co-ordination between road and rail transport, although in a limited and local way. The most significant of these Acts was the London Passenger Transport Act of 1933.

During the war it was necessary to impose a central control over the various agencies of public transport, and through the machinery of the Central and Regional Transport Committees traffic was allocated to the most suitable transport available for carrying it. So it can be seen, as Sir Brian Robertson has pointed out, that processes at work before and during the war led to a concentration of the different forms of transport into large groups, and to a measure of co-ordination among them. The 1947 Act which nationalized transport merely carried the process a stage further, by vesting the control of the main-line railways, certain docks and waterways, as well as London Transport in a public corporation, creating a number of executives under the British Transport Commission. What were the main problems for the railways—under the 1947 Act which merged the four main-line companies and, subsequently, under the 1953 Act which sought to introduce a degree of decentralization? How far can the concept of nationalization be judged to have been successful, if success in this context can be measured in terms applied to a private corporation? Is the conduct of affairs efficient to the degree where shareholders and consumers—who under nationalization are the same—and the employees are getting a satisfactory deal? Under the

1947 Act, which became effective early in 1948, the Railway Executive was responsible for the new unified railway system. Its immediate task was not only to concentrate on making good wartime and post-war dilapidations but also to prevent the loss of traffic to other forms of transport. It also began a long process of streamlining the organization of the railways and standardizing equipment and methods—the latter frequently involving technological advances that created their own problems in management.

During the first six years of nationalization, the Executive (whose members were appointed by the Minister of Transport) employed the "functional" system of management. The 1953 Act provided for the abolition of the Executive and for greater decentralization. The need for and the effect of the measures of standardization can be clearly seen. There were over 400 different types of steam locomotive in service when the Executive designed a range of 12 standard types to replace them. Over 900 of these new locomotives are now in service. In 1955 the decision was made to adopt electric and diesel traction, and already over 1,000 multiple-unit diesel trains have been introduced. They are evidently popular with the public and have increased traffic. Also more than 700 diesel locomotives—as yet mostly shunters—are in use. Standard all-steel carriages for use on all main lines of British Railways were introduced in 1951, and more than 5,000 new passenger coaches are now in service. Wagons have been standardized, reducing the number of designs in current production. The two sizes of flat-bottom rail adopted by British Railways require 16,900 fewer components per mile than the former bull-head rail with chairs. A great deal of relaying is now done with pre-assembled 60-ft. lengths of track, thus avoiding man-handling of individual components. British Railways claim that these and other developments have contributed to continuous improvements in passenger and freight services.

A revised time-table introduced in September last year provides new and faster services in all regions. Six hundred express freight trains are now operated each weekday compared with about 290 before the war. The Commission recently decided to adopt as standard a high-voltage AC system of electrification with overhead supply. This system is simpler, cheaper and quicker to install. The serious strike of footplate men in May and June of 1955, and the threat of further strikes tend to obscure the real advances made since nationalization in terms of efficiency, industrial relations and staff welfare. Increased efficiency has enabled British Railways to reduce the number of its employees from 649,000 in 1948 to 571,000 in 1957. Consultative machinery between management and staff has been set up at different levels throughout the industry, and at national level. Negotiating machinery with the trade unions regulate wages, salaries and conditions of service. A British Railways' productivity council comprises representatives of the British Transport Commission, the three railway trade unions and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. The council has agreed in principle to the introduction of planned productivity through work study. A work study training centre, available to all sections of the Commission's undertakings, has been opened at Watford. Training and educational facilities are being constantly extended, and are available to staff through residential colleges, trade apprenticeship and other vocational schemes, day and evening classes and mobile industrial film theatres. Welfare officers for both men and women are employed, and in 1956 a sum of £3,270,000 was authorized for improving staff amenities.

At the time of the publication of the British Transport Commission's annual report for 1956 Sir Brian Roberston commented: "No amount of improved equipment will avail anything unless the men who use the equipment are giving of their best. I am glad to say that we are getting support—it is not merely welcome, it is vital—from many sections of the trade union movement and from the staff themselves. We did not have a major dispute in 1956. We have made substantial progress in such matters as consultation, productivity and work study. We are near agreement with the unions on a generous plan for dealing with such redundancy as may result from modernization of the railways. As a body, our staff are making a genuine effort to make British Transport a fine public service and a fine show to serve—the one goes with the other."

The Conservative Government introduced the second Transport Act of 1953, which, apart from other provisions, required the decentralization of railway management. Following this Act, the Executive was abolished as part of the policy of decentralization and area boards were set up to exercise powers on behalf of the Commission on a regional basis. The headquarters staff of the Commission was entirely recast, with advisers working with small personal staffs in place of functional managers. "The Commission may be regarded," said Sir Brian Robertson, "as roughly comparable with a holding company having a number of diverse but allied businesses under its control, and similar to many modern industrial combines whose names spring to mind." The new organization came into being in January 1955. As a policy-making body controlling a large and complex undertaking the BTC delegated the management of British Railways to the area boards under which the chief regional managers become general managers.

A Railway Sub-Commission at BTC headquarters began to act as arbiter on day-to-day matters requiring co-ordination between the regions, and generally watches the performance and productivity of British Railways. Today, it draws attention to any need for improvement—through the general managers or the Commission itself. The Commission continues to concern itself with such matters as design, manufacture and standards of maintenance of locomotives, rolling-stock, permanent way and signalling; major questions of labour relations; the general level of charges; financial control in its broader aspects; operating policies and principles; inter-regional wagon distribution; general commercial policy; and commercial negotiations on a national basis.

The function of the British Railways Division is to implement the Commission's policy on these "reserved" all-line matters and to provide advice, co-ordinated with the regions, on new policy and on matters affecting the railway regions as a whole. The Division consists of a railway central staff, a general manager's committee, the clearing house, and the British Railways inter-regional committees. The central staff of the railways division include specialists and technical officers who are responsible with the general managers, for ensuring that the Commission's policy is carried out from the viewpoint of British Railways as a whole. Contact in day-to-day matters is maintained between the BR Division and the regional department officers, the general managers being kept informed. How did this new organization evolve after the first year of operation? "The Commission is greatly satisfied," says a report, "with the progress made by the area boards since they were set up in the previous year, and

with the help they are giving. It became clear that their scope of authority could with advantage be extended at some time in the future. As an example, the area boards were asked to keep in mind the desirability of bringing as closely together as possible, in connection with future planning, the terminal facilities of British Railways and those of British Road Services with the Commission's road passenger companies, with particular reference to inter-change of traffic and over-all commercial needs."

The report referred to a further measure of decentralization—within the railways—published in the "Railway Reorganization Scheme of 1954." "This process," it claimed, "is now in hand, and in the Eastern Region three Line Traffic Managers have already been established. These will take over the major part of the headquarter functions of the commercial, operating and motive power departments which will be abolished. Proposals for devolution of authority in other regions are now under consideration." Another important feature stressed in the report concerns progress made with the railway's modernization plan. Over one-third of the total sum of £1,200 million to be spent under the 15-year plan is now committed to development already in progress or authorized. Large individual programmes of expenditure already authorized include: £92 million for electrification; £33½ million for diesel main-line and shunting locomotives; £32½ million for diesel multiple unit trains; and £46 million for major works, such as track widening, new junctions and station and depot reconstruction schemes. Any appraisal of 10 years of nationalization of the railways must concede that, whatever faults there are—and they are many—the organization is unquestionably more sound; standardization has brought its own economies; employment with British Railways is far more attractive; and, finally, the modernization plan's objective is undoubtedly within sight—to rebuild a railway system second to none in the world.

WILFRED ALTMAN

## THE OUTLOOK FOR BRITISH EXPORTS

**I**N respect of exports the wheel of change has turned full circle since 1913. That year the proportion of industrial production that was exported was estimated at 35 per cent and a steady decline thereafter occurred—in 1924 it was 27 per cent and in 1938 a mere 15 per cent. This switch arose from a number of factors of which the most important by far was the growth of tariffs, quantitative restrictions and exchange controls which fouled the channels of international trade and in some cases diverted their direction. Two additional factors may also be identified. First, a shift in the terms of trade occurred, thereby requiring us to export fewer manufactured goods for the same quantity of imports of raw materials and foodstuffs and, secondly, Britain ceased to be an exporter of capital. These trends have been reversed during the post-war years and Britain has become increasingly dependent upon world trade as the following table shows.

*Imports and Exports of Goods and Services, as a Percentage of Total Resources: At Constant (1948) Factor Cost*

			1948-53	1954	1955	1956
Imports	...	...	18	18.2	19.1	19.4
Exports	...	...	17.75	18.4	18.6	19.5

The proportion of industrial production now exported is 31 per cent. The



reason for this has been the country's weakened economic position in the world. The terms of trade turned sharply against us, and the loss of foreign investments has meant that essential imports could be paid for only by exporting more goods. Furthermore, more recently there has been a flow of unrequited exports necessitated by war-time debt accumulated in the form of "Sterling Balances."

Initially, in the post-1945 era, the task of increasing exports hinged upon our ability to increase production and throughout much of the period British manufacturers have enjoyed a seller's market. Germany and Japan, formerly our leading rivals, were in no position to compete; dollar restrictions in many areas excluded American goods; and the general inflationary conditions which prevailed was the third factor favouring British exporters. After reaching a peak in 1950-51, Britain's percentage share in world trade in manufactures has declined steadily.

*Percentage Share in World Trade in Manufactures*

	1950	1954	1957
United Kingdom ... ..	25.6	20.4	18.3
West Germany ... ..	7.3	14.8	16.6
United States ... ..	27.3	25.1	26.3
Japan ... ..	3.4	4.7	5.5

Germany and Japan, on the other hand, have markedly increased their share of world trade, as one would expect, whilst America and the majority of other nations have substantially maintained theirs.

With the emergence of more vigorous international competition, it would appear that Great Britain's economic future will depend ultimately upon our ability to meet and solve the following problems. Previous experience indicates the first. It will be recalled that throughout the nineteenth century this country's progress depended largely upon our taking the lead in new developments, a fact necessitated by our paucity of raw materials. During the inter-war years, however, a hardening of the economic arteries occurred with a resultant loss of adaptability. Now, this pre-1913 resilience must be re-captured and maintained.

The second factor becomes apparent when a more detailed investigation of the causes leading to a loss of exports is undertaken. It then emerges that three-quarters—equal to £450 million of exports in 1957—of the share of exports lost has arisen for reasons of late deliveries and allied factors. In view of this, and of the fact that one rarely, if ever, learns of export orders being lost because our products do not embody the latest scientific knowledge or engineering skill, one is obliged to conclude that the vigorous campaign which has been pursued in favour of stimulating the flow of trained scientists and engineers has been wrongly directed. The weakness is in management—a factor stressed by the Anglo-American Productivity teams.

For a ship at sea, especially in wild weather, it is the winds and the waves that matter; long-run tendencies do not interest the helmsman in such conditions. But after these references to the winds and waves, it is now necessary to concentrate on the broad forces that rule the tides. In the Budget debate the President of the Board of Trade, Sir David Eccles, discoursed on the outlook for exports and during his speech he made it clear that he set considerable store on the forthcoming Commonwealth Economic Conference in Montreal, and declared that the Government would retain the Ottawa preferential system. But this viewpoint should be

seen against the backcloth of long-run trends in world trade.

There is a tendency for the proportion of world trade which flows between the industrial areas and the non-industrial areas to decline, as the following figures will illustrate. Of the total increase in the value of world exports in 1956, the exports of the industrial countries accounted for \$7,500 million, representing an increase of 14.2 per cent over the previous year, whereas the rise of \$1,800 million in the exports of non-industrial countries represented an increase of only 5.9 per cent as compared with 1955. This shift can be traced to industrial developments in a group of semi-industrial countries. Eight such countries may be identified—Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Australia, India, South Africa, Finland and Yugoslavia. Between them they account for 80 per cent of the manufacturing activity outside the older industrial centres of Europe and North America, although, in so far as international trade is concerned, they still remain exporters of primary products, consigning to the older industrial areas.

For the past 20 years the share of world trade of these semi-industrialized countries has been falling. Since 1937-8, whilst the value of world trade has risen three and a quarter times, their value of exports has only risen two and a quarter times, whilst the volumes of their exports of primary products to the industrialized areas has fallen in the same period by 17 per cent. Whether in the long run they will gain from such a policy is a matter for conjecture but, currently, their industrialization is not an economic proposition for, whilst there has been a shift in the terms of trade during the past 20 years to the primary producers of a magnitude sufficient to enable them to import twice the quantity of manufactures, the semi-industrialized countries' capacity to import manufactures has risen by only 30 per cent.

A second trend is the speed and relative stability of economic development in industrial countries in the post-war world, thereby stimulating demand for primary commodities. Western Europe is now importing about \$9,300 million worth of commodities from non-industrial areas, and immediate prospects for further exports of raw materials and fuels from non-industrial areas are favourable. In the long run, the two factors most likely to determine whether non-industrial countries will be able to maintain and expand their exports of primary commodities, in turn enabling them to increase their capacity to import and their ability to carry out their development programmes, are the rate of growth of agricultural production and the use of synthetic materials in industrial countries.

The third trend is the development of intra-European trade, which has received a further stimulus from the Common Market. In view of the rapidity of the growth in this trade, the possibility that negotiations for a Free Trade Area may break down, and the United Kingdom's disproportionate dependence on primary producing areas for its export markets, the prospects are somewhat sombre.

It should be clear, therefore, that the weight of the United Kingdom's efforts must change with changing markets, and any further growth, indeed even the retention of the existing structure, of tariffs and quotas aimed at creating a preferential system within the Commonwealth will endanger our future prosperity by resulting in an ossification of the economy. Contrary to cherished beliefs, experience has conclusively demonstrated that preferential systems are not built-in stabilizers but built-in rigidities. And, after all, death is stability.

LYNDON H. JONES

## TO MY GRANDMOTHER

*You were not graceful in your bearing,  
nor fat in the jolly sort of way.  
Your face and arms and legs were skinny,  
but your flesh grew heavy through the years.  
Your hair, though long at night, was thin  
and clean and straight, and I could see  
how slight your shoulders really were  
as you bent to hide your wedding-ring  
in socks and handkerchieves at night,  
and it was lovely to discover,  
when a youngster, just how tightly  
it fit, in sunlight, on your finger.  
Your life was steps and dishes, steps  
and furnaces, steps and children,  
and money hid in jars and banks  
against a rainy day, and cups  
of soup for beggars, and cold drinks  
for steaming rag-men in the alley.  
But the green upholstered mohair faded,  
and the big kitchen clock ran down,  
the orange bulbs and the blue mirror  
turned darker and went out-of-date.  
And nothing had been fun. The years  
passed, and everything was gone  
you knew and might have loved, and there  
was no one left to cook or cry for,  
no corners left to cut, no steps  
to climb. How quiet then you were!  
I understand it all—except  
the reason that you would not die,  
but nearly wore out death refusing,  
as if there still was something here  
you cherished, some experience  
too precious to relinquish, truths  
in process of discovery, hints  
of knowledge difficult to bear.  
And in your latter uselessness  
(never in the way, and quiet),  
what softened that tenacity?—  
not faith in the religious sense,  
or hope for peace and rest unending—  
you lay in silence through the night,  
and what you knew was something I  
have yet to master. Then you murmured  
"Christ buried," then something incoherent,  
and inexpressively you died.  
By what you lived, I have not learned,  
nor was what let you die apparent.*

PARIS LEARY

# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

## CROWN PRINCE RUDOLPH

Readers of Dr. Barkeley's justly applauded biography of the Empress Frederick will find his portrait of Crown Prince Rudolph equally convincing and equally tragic. In both cases the dawn was so fair, the dusk so dark. The Empress went when she had drained the cup of life to the bitter dregs, the heir of the Hapsburgs when he had scarcely put it to his lips. How far was it their own fault? In the former case not at all, in the latter not entirely. With his insight into character and his knowledge of the old Empire to aid him, the author traces the evolution of the gifted, attractive, industrious, thoughtful, liberal-minded young Archduke into the frustrated *frondeur* who saw no way out of his troubles and disappointments except suicide. As in a Greek tragedy the gods seem to conspire against a helpless mortal before hurling him into the abyss.

Everyone knows the story of the duty-doing but unimaginative father, the beautiful but eccentric mother, the unsatisfying marriage, the ideological clash between the conservative ruler and the radical son, the moral and physical degeneration of a fine personality; the *liaison* with the Greek girl of eighteen, the pistol shots at Mayerling: the drama has often been described, never with such fullness and mastery as by Dr. Barkeley. The early chapters introduce us to Prince Charming, who seemed to bring a breath of spring into the stuffy rooms of the Hofburg and the Ballplatz under the rule of Taaffe and Kalnoky. The marriage to the Belgian princess Stephanie got off to a good start. "She is clever, very attractive and sensitive, full of ambition," he reported to his beloved former tutor Latour von Thurnberg: "I am very much in love with her." Though some affectionate letters are quoted the clouds began to gather when he discovered how little they had in common, and no heir was born to cement the partnership. Of course there were faults on both sides, and both were in some measure victims of circumstances. While he was much away on duty and pleasure, she never found her feet in Austria. The friction between the ruler and his heir reminds us of the ceaseless struggle between Maria Theresa and her son Joseph, though in that case their mutual affection averted a catastrophe.

Father and son disagreed about almost all major problems of the Empire. At home the Crown Prince, longing to liberalize the regime, found a kindred spirit in Szeps, the veteran Jewish editor of the *Tagblatt*. In the foreign sphere he distrusted Bismarck and disapproved the Dual Alliance which in 1879 became the foundation of Hapsburg policy for the next 40 years. He also regretted the dominance of the German minority over the Slav and other races of the polyglot empire which demanded a place in the sun. This part of the story anticipates the struggle 20 years later between the ageing Francis Joseph and his temperamental nephew Franz Ferdinand. On the European chessboard he was less sure-footed than in home affairs, for he was even more hostile to Russia than to Germany. After her eviction from the German Confederation and from Italy, Austria could seek compensation only in the Near East where the Christian peoples fretted under the blighting Turkish yoke and who, if Austria folded her arms, would turn to Russia. A spirited policy would no doubt involve war with Russia, but that he believed to be inevitable; so let it come before the Russian bear became more formidable by gobbling up the Balkans. Would the German ally help in such a struggle? No, replied Bismarck; the Balkan Christians were not worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier.

That the Crown Prince opposed the policies of the Government was known to everyone, and in the closing phase the police supervised every moment of

his life and tampered with his correspondence. He and Szeps, for whose paper he wrote anonymous articles, used to meet at midnight; but despite all precautions their relations were no secret and increased the hostility of the anti-Semites who infested Vienna. Disillusioned and frustrated, he sought relief in drink and women, though Dr. Barkeley thinks these failings were greatly exaggerated by his many foes in official circles and the press. His health deteriorated and his wife had never loved him. He had always been morbidly fascinated by the subject of death, and he kept a skull on his desk. Was he insane? No, replies the author, but a strain of abnormality may have come to him through his Wittelsbach mother, a relative of the two Bavarian Kings, the elder brother hopelessly insane, the art-loving homosexual Ludwig a borderland case. The tragic death of the latter may well have raised terrifying doubts about his own destiny, and the autopsy showed some anomalies in the formation of the skull. The closing chapters relate the poignant story of the love of Marie Vetsera for the man who had lost his zest for life. His thoughts had turned to suicide before they met, but the final step seemed easier when the romantic girl expressed her readiness to share his fate.

G. P. GOOCH

*The Road to Mayerling.* By Richard Barkeley. Macmillan. 25s.

### DEMOCRACY IN WESTERN GERMANY

The author of this study of the political institutions of the German Federal Republic is Professor of Political Science at the University of Manitoba, and served with the British Military Government in Germany just after the war. He sets out to examine the extent to which democracy has taken root in Germany. But in loading the book with as much information as possible there is often a curious disharmony between relatively unimportant facts and sweeping conclusions. This is unsatisfactory, however one may agree with the author's views in some ways. German history before 1933 is summed up in 25 pages, and the years of the Nazi regime are omitted.

The book holds the balance between oversimplified and extreme views about Germany. The disadvantage of Dr. Adenauer's autocratic methods for the future of German democracy is recognized, and the frequent lack of a sense of responsibility for the crimes of the Nazi regime is noted. Well-deserved tribute is paid to the humanity of the Federal President, Professor Heuss. Hope is expressed in the influence likely to be exerted by the younger generation, though this must naturally remain a question mark. It is true that youth takes none too charitable a view of the mistakes of the older generation during the Nazi regime. This has led to an undermining of parental discipline and authority which carries its own dangers. It is doubtful whether Professor Hiscock's prescription of "ideals" for German youth is a suitable one. Ideals are the opium of German adolescence, as Hitlerism showed. There was an unprecedented participation in the last Bundestag election. Bonn has succeeded in overcoming the curse of the splinter parties which Weimar could never shake off. The present Federal Parliament—like the British House of Commons—has two major parties and a minor one, yet there is something in the charge that the Bonn Republic is a one-party State. It is hard to see at present how the Social Democrats will be able to dislodge the Christian Democrats without an unfortunate reversal of the present trend towards keeping the number of parties down. Thus many question marks remain as to the permanence of the present achievements. The author is right to ask to what extent governmental stability and the success of democratic institutions are due to possibly transitory factors, such as economic prosperity.

FRANK EYCK

*Democracy in Western Germany.* By Richard Hiscocks. Oxford University Press. 30s.



## THE NAVY'S PART

It is valuable, 18 years after the event, to have recalled to us in Mr. Grinnell-Milne's well documented book the detailed circumstances in which these islands faced and survived the threat of invasion in the late summer of 1940. At that time, France had been newly forced out of the war, the British Army had been saved from Dunkirk only by a seeming miracle, our land forces at home were ill-armed and not yet re-organized, the Royal Air Force was greatly outnumbered by the Luftwaffe and only the Royal Navy was in a position of superiority to the German Navy, which had been badly mauled during the Norwegian campaign.

The Führer, after the heart-warming experience of enacting the 1918 armistice in reverse at Compiègne, was anxious to finish off Great Britain (who unaccountably appeared not to understand that she was beaten) before turning on his Russian ally, to complete his conquest of Europe. He therefore conceived the invasion project, which was given the name "Operation Sealion" in the Directive which was issued for it on July 16. The Army appeared to view the prospect of just one more invasion with equanimity (though Rundstedt, the Commander designate, denied after the war that he had ever taken it seriously), but Grand Admiral Raeder, the Naval Commander-in-Chief, was filled with alarm. He greatly doubted his ability to get the expedition from France to England reasonably intact, unless Goering, by concentrated bombing of naval ports, could redress the balance of naval forces in the area. Unfortunately, the Führer was incapable of understanding the reality of the threat presented by British sea power, and Goering and Raeder, completely antipathetic, failed to co-operate. The Luftwaffe concentrated on eliminating the British will to resist and failed, owing to the resilience of the Royal Air Force and the stubbornness of the ordinary British citizen. The ports in the South of England were very inadequately bombed and the Royal Navy preserved its preponderance of strength. In the end, "Sealion" was abandoned.

Mr. Grinnell-Milne contends that it was the British command of the sea—the Fleet in Being—skilfully disposed and in superior strength, which brought about this deliverance. The more usual view is that it was to the operations of Fighter Command in the Battle of Britain that we owe the result. Surely the fact is that here was a Combined Operation in the broadest sense of the term. Each of the two services actively engaged gave all its best in its own element and took full advantage of the shortcomings of the enemy. Had not the RAF turned back the Luftwaffe time after time from its objectives and subjected it to heavy losses (the totting up of numbers is of minor importance), had the Navy not gained a moral and material ascendancy over the German Navy, had the Luftwaffe intensively bombed the naval ports of Chatham and Portsmouth and Harwich, things might, it can be claimed, have turned out differently. But these are matters of history, and in calling particular attention to the part played by the Navy at this time, the author has made a notable contribution to our understanding of these fateful happenings.

DOUGLAS COLYER

*The Silent Victory.* By Duncan Grinnell-Milne. Bodley Head, 21s.

## TRADE UNION LAW

*Trade Union Law and Practice* is a book of great merit and utility. The authors have compressed with much skill and clarity, within a moderate compass, one of the most complex subjects in English law. By a series of statutes since 1871, Parliament has recognised and developed the trade union as a hybrid conception, partly a corporation, partly a trust and in part an unincorporated association, endowed with remarkable privileges and legal immunities. It is

not surprising that the Courts themselves have failed as yet to elucidate all the complexities flowing from this legal peculiarity; as for example the question of the Union trustees' liability for tortious acts committed on behalf of the Union.

For the lawyer, this volume provides an authoritative examination of the law; for the trade union official and others concerned with Union legal practice it is an excellent guide. The text is well supported by references to legal decisions, and appendices set out relevant Statutes, Regulations and Forms.

A. DE MONTMORENCY

*Trade Union Law and Practice.* By Horatio Vester and Anthony H. Gardner. Sweet & Maxwell. 35s.

### THE TWO-FACED MUSE

The current Wild Man of American poetry is somebody named Allen Ginsberg, and he calls his best-known poem "Howl." There is no-one even remotely like him in English letters today nor is there apt to be. For modern English poetry is marked by decorum. It is most important in the literary form a piece of English verse takes. The stanzas are often classical, the rhythms very correct. The decorum extends to tone—the voice can sound hard or determined but must be level; the last thing any respectable English poet would do is to howl in his poems. The decorum even extends to the choice of subject. Modern American poetry, on the other hand, continues to show signs of struggle in form and content both. The subject matter varies extravagantly. And the patterns are apt to be more original, the tone intense, the syntax knottier, and the language choked.

These differences are explored in an exceptionally interesting book by Alfred Alvarez, a young English critic who has been studying at Princeton. English poets of this century have the security both of a long-established tradition and of sympathetic readers. American poets, on the contrary, have been without a native tradition until this century (to Mr. Alvarez the first really American poet is Ezra Pound). Similarly, American poets have been without an ample group of sympathetic readers and have dealt with this fact not by trying to make their poems popular but usually by putting them into esoteric language.

His list of poets is as interesting for its omissions as for what it contains. The opening essay is on Eliot and Yeats, and studies follow of Pound, Empson, Auden, Hart Crane, Wallace Stevens, and D. H. Lawrence. The concluding chapter, diffuse but stimulating, is entitled "Art and Isolation" and touches on Robert Frost and several much younger American poets. Of the omissions, that of Dylan Thomas is especially challenging and suggests that he may have been left out because he is a massive exception to many generalizations about twentieth-century English poetry.

The chief shortcoming in the book is that Mr. Alvarez does not know as much about American poetry as he does about English. He can cite an English poet as obscure as Benlowes, but on the other hand he says amazingly that Whitman is a derivative writer. The virtues of the book are, however, important ones. The most marked is Mr. Alvarez' good taste. This is a quality in critics that is always rarer than it should be but certainly rarer in the United States than here. A good many American critics have force and insight but they approach poetry as an intellectual operation. Not so for the author of *The Shaping Spirit*. He has comment after comment distinguished by good sense and a feeling for beauty that a reader can gladly share. His informality too is attractive, though there are a few times when he treats the reader in the offhand manner that Colin Wilson made famous—in point: "Since I first read the poem a long time ago, I have been trying to remember what it reminds me of. But without success."

Not the least charm of the book lies in its incidental observations; they go

with the informality of the author's approach. Often they are shrewd. He remarks, for instance, that "as the seventeenth century read sermons more or less for pleasure, so the twentieth has devoted itself religiously to critical essays." How right he is can be seen at any Oxford or Cambridge book shop that stocks the American New Critics more than the American poetry they often write about. Good taste and good sense combine to make *The Shaping Spirit* a book that many a reader will want to have.

CARL BODE

*The Shaping Spirit*. By A. Alvarez. Chatto & Windus. 15s.

### GERMAN LITERATURE

To say that Professor Closs has a wide knowledge of the German literary scene is to stress the obvious. The many admirers of his earlier book on the genius of German poetry have known this for many years, and however great their expectations may have been, he does not disappoint them now. The finest essay in this collection deals with substance and symbol in poetry and tries to unriddle the secret of poetic form, the relation between reality and imagery. They are one, of course, by their very nature, whether they have their origin in divine inspiration, as many poets believed, or in the unconscious. The truly creative artist at later stages of his work, in the words of Schiller, "extinguishes" matter by form. To elucidate this, Professor Closs chooses two very impressive examples, the poem *Meeresstrand* by Theodor Storm and *Die sterbende Meduse* by C. F. Meyer. He is as steeped in medieval as in modern German literature, and his fine analysis of Gottfried's *Tristan und Isolde* is as persuasive as that of Goethe's and Hölderlin's poetic achievements. According to him, Goethe is "a miracle of natural growth," "not only the greatest German poet but the voice of Europe." His unshakable belief in the ultimate salvation of man through God's unfailing love returns in Hölderlin's poetic prophecies as a Graeco-Christian unity of cosmic strength. If Professor Closs sees in Stefan George's poetry a decided break-away both from Goethe and post-Goethean romanticism, he misses perhaps the deepest meaning of George's poetic mission; George did in our aimless and formless modern civilization what Goethe had done previously. His poetry is an uncompromising fight against that nihilism the beginning of which Professor Closs finds in the works of Grabbe and Büchner, and the first traces of which are also to be found in German romanticism, or in Novalis, whom Professor Closs rightly values very highly, calling his poems "rare treasures of European lyric poetry" and his aphorisms "rare seeds of poetic insight." The two great epochs of Austrian literature, the medieval culminating in the epic of the Nibelungs and Walther von der Vogelweide's poems, and the modern culminating in Grillparzer, Stifter, Hofmannsthal, Rilke, Trakl and Werfel, he succeeds in characterizing illuminatingly in short essays or even paragraphs.

Professor Closs also presents a new anthology of German poetry, the most comprehensive ever published in this country. Through it we renew our friendship with all the great names in German poetry and we also make the acquaintance of many minor poets who have written wonderful poems hitherto unknown or too little known in this country. With an unfailing touch Professor Closs chooses always the very best poems characteristic of a poet or an age. He starts with ancient poems of magic, then gives specimens of early love poems like the jewel *Du bist min, ih bin din* or the Christian hymn *Christ ist erstanden*. The seventeenth century counterpart of the latter is Paul Gerhardt's moving *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* on Christ crucified. The mystical rhymes of Angelus Silesius are the high-light of the seventeenth century. The second half of the eighteenth is represented by the great odes of Klopstock and by the simple but very moving poems of Matthias Claudius.

The centre of this anthology is, of course, Goethe, represented by many poems of all periods. The rebellious poem *Prometheus* is followed a few years later by *Grenzen der Menschheit* in which man is warned not to compare himself to God. All the other poems of Goethe prove to us what Professor Closs tells us about him in his other book. Schiller gets his due and even more, and Hölderlin has many examples of his cosmic poetry. The Romantics are shown in their different moods: Novalis, Brentano, Eichendorff, Müller and others. Platen's alluring poem *Tristan* recurs in the *Liebestod* in Wagner's opera. Romanticism culminates in Heine who destroys it by irony, but a late-comer like Lenau renews it for a while. With Storm and Keller it blends with realism. Mörike, perhaps the greatest German poet of the nineteenth century, stands apart, as does the Swiss C. F. Meyer. The twentieth century is represented by a number of minor poets of high repute, like Liliencron, Dehmel, Huch, Morgenstern, Carossa and Trakl. The greatest German poets of our time were George and Rilke and, in a minor key, Hofmannsthal and Werfel.

Professor Closs speaks in *Medusa's Mirror* of the apocalyptic catastrophe which befell Europe in the war of 1939-1945, and he quotes in his anthology what two German poets, devout Christians, had to say about it. Werner Bergengruen says that both the good and the bad Germans were punished by God, and Bernt von Heiseler says in his moving *In Memoriam Patria* that all Germans are guilty, "You too and I too. Only in our guilt, which we confess and take upon our shoulders, is our Reich still real in God's light, the community of Germans. So confess and repent!"

J. LESSER

*Medusa's Mirror: Studies in German Literature.* By Professor August Closs. The Cresset Press, 30s.

*The Harrap Anthology of German Poetry.* Edited by Professor August Closs and Professor T. Pugh Williams. Harrap, 21s.

### BAPTISTS IN CHINA

Missionary societies have often played a significant part in the history and development of eastern lands. Sometimes, alas, their motives were misunderstood by the unsympathetic, and sometimes too they were glad to accept privileges which had been acquired by the superior fire-power of western troops and the energetic arrogance of western merchants. The Protestant missions came to China three centuries after Xavier's vision of a China won for Christ; but whereas the great Jesuits like Ricci, Schall and Verbiest came to a land confident of its own superiority to the rest of the world, Robert Morrison and those who followed him in the second half of the nineteenth century entered a China which the West was rapidly discovering, ruled by the decadent Manchus who were powerless to refuse the demands made on them by the western "barbarians." Among these Protestant groups were the British Baptists whose history is told in Dr. Williamson's book. Their first representative reached Shanghai in 1860 and later the work was established in the North China provinces of Shensi, Shansi and Shantung. In 1870 Timothy Richard arrived—one of the great names in Baptist annals, who was to make a formidable contribution to the establishment of the Christian Literature Society. This book is a story of many people, both British and Chinese, who worked devotedly in their little corners of the Flowery Kingdom, translating into loving service the faith which had sent them. There are moving passages. The B.M.S. in Shansi suffered greatly during the Boxer Rising of 1900; its martyrs, shot against yamen walls or slaughtered by Chinese mobs in the streets, played their tragic roles with moving dignity and saintly courage; they rank with the martyrs of the ages.

This book will not interest Baptists alone. All who are concerned about the mission activities of the Christian Church will welcome it. It is my privilege to have known a few of the people mentioned in these pages, to have

visited their homes and seen them at work in their hospitals and mission stations. One regrets that the book omits so much of the colour of China and reads so often like a compilation of reports. Yet it reveals the extent of missionary influence in China—an influence out of all proportion to the number of Christians in China; for these (Roman Catholic and Protestant together) are less than one per cent of the whole population. The test of a missionary movement is, as Dr. Williamson says, the strength of the indigenous Church it helps to create. The evidence that comes from Communist China today is blurred. Reports from visiting Christians are often contradictory; and while a Christian is right to believe that the purposes of God cannot be for ever confounded, such convictions do not clarify the present situation. But the record of what has been remains: the noble story of men and women who went out in faith to lay the bricks of the Kingdom of God.

BERNARD LLEWELLYN

*British Baptists in China.* By H. R. Williamson. The Carey Kingsgate Press, 21s.

### "ROUND ABOUT THE PENDENT WORLD"—I

*Confessions of a European in England* (Heinemann. 25s.). J. H. Huizinga characteristically sees "a gap in the vast literature on the islanders" which he alone can fill. As he unravels his knotty bewilderment he appraises their poses and analyses their ruling passions. He ponders their mysteries of language, food, government and class, their hypocrisy, cant, self-deception and self-love. He scoffs and taunts with a laugh and his teeth are bared when he caresses. It would be a terrifying performance if the English did not love disparagement at least as much as flattery. So they will surely enjoy this book, and go on being ruefully proud of themselves and proudly rueful. Mr. Huizinga's rapier sometimes behaves remarkably like a sledgehammer, and the occasional redundancies are akin to the first two words of his title. But the extravagancies obscure neither his cantankerous affection nor his belief that Britain, after the colonising fervour and the rearing of new nations, has come back to help in the rebuilding of Europe.

*The English Disease* (Alvin Redman. 12s. 6d.). W. Kenneth Richmond fears it might be fatal. "A Study in Despondency" is his subtitle and the contrast between American liveliness and lethargy at home his theme. Some comfort is in the oak, ravaged by time, "still capable of putting forth green leaves."

*Britain and the United Nations* (Oxford University Press. 38s.). Geoffrey L. Goodwin discusses their mutual impact, with the assistance of a study group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The past and the potentialities of international organization are examined, with special reference to Middle and Far East problems. NATO's and GATT's relationship to the UN, Britain's dependency on the economic agencies, contemporary views on UN policy, are some of the nettles grasped. Suggestions for the possible improvement of the system are made, and the conclusion warns that this country would suffer if her faith in the meaning and purpose of UN withered.

*Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919-1939*: First Series Volume VII 1920 edited by Rohan Butler and J. P. T. Bury (Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 75s.), and Second Series Volume VII 1929-34 edited by E. L. Woodward and Rohan Butler (H.M.S.O. 85s.). The full proceedings of the Allied Conference presided over by Lloyd George (following the Paris Peace Conference) are reported. Peace with Turkey was the main theme, and talks on Fiume and the Adriatic, Soviet Russia, Hungary, German war crimes, and the unsuccessful demand for the person of the Kaiser were held. The second book covers Anglo-Soviet relations in the early '30's, concluding with the entry of the USSR to the League of Nations. Trade, debts and claims, press and propaganda attacks, and the Russian trial of the Metropolitan-Vickers employees, were cogs in the uncoiled machinery that is creaking still.



*The Independents in the English Civil War* (Cambridge University Press. 21s.).

George Yule helps greatly to a fuller understanding of the connection between religion and politics in the seventeenth century and refutes the easy notion that the struggle belonged to the one or to the other; a group composed of Independent Members of Parliament and churchmen was active by October, 1643. Something of the author's research, difficult in Australia and protracted at Oxford, is indicated by one of the appendices which lists over 500 Congregational ministers with their towns, political labels, and sometimes a note of their emigration to America.

*Naples and Campania Revisited* (Hollis and Carter. 30s.). Edward Hutton again places all lovers of Italy in his debt. This is his post-war survey to include the changes that democratization has wrought, with "petrol and perhaps America" as the great levellers. But, wandering with him through the light and shade of Capri or Pompeii, or along the miraculous coast road from Sorrento to Amalfi—indeed, as he says, it "beggars description"—the vulgarities of sophistication are ousted by beauty all-pervading and timeless. The 38 photograph illustrations conjure precious memories, and even an envy of those who, with guidance from Mr. Hutton, have yet to see Italy for the first time.

*Land of Dahori* (Macdonald. 16s.). Olaf Ruhen uses the term for by-and-by or *mañana* to title his tales of New Guinea. These are truthful recounting of episodes and incidents in the sum of human experience. The New Zealand journalist came to cover the white men's introduction of sheep to the rich pastures, and returned repeatedly to travel with the natives and meet the tribes of Stone Age men. Witchcraft and government, strawberries and bananas, lark and bird of paradise, savagery and aesthetic achievement all dwell together, to capture and keep the author's loyalty and imagination.

*Pageant of Ghana* (Oxford University Press. 30s.). Freda Wolfson has made an anthology of written records about the Gold Coast, dating from its discovery by the Portuguese in 1471. Traders, administrators, soldiers, missionaries, scientists and adventurers have contributed. They were chosen to show a comprehensive and coherent picture of a people, a country, a history, with hopes and fears, institutions and beliefs. Maps and numerous illustrations assist a company which includes Pereira and Princess Alice of Athlone, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Kwame Nkrumah.

*Bonganga* (Odhams Press. 21s.). Sylvia and Peter Duncan went to the Belgian Congo to see for themselves how the Christian faith will work in a young white doctor, so that he endures the heat, the damp, the rigours of language learning and teaching, to serve his jungle brother. The fight against diseases, ranging from malaria to yaws, from meningitis to tuberculosis, from sleeping sickness to leprosy, is everlasting, as is the one against ignorance and superstition. While on leave the doctor had been interviewed on the BBC's "In Town Tonight" programme which Peter Duncan edits and produces, and a few months later was host to the author and his wife as they travelled deep into the forest and witnessed love in action. There is dancing among the ex-patients from the leprosarium at Yalisombo, and, as the many photographs testify, joy has come to stay around the Baptist Missionary Hospital at Yakusu.

*Sea Never Dry* (George Allen & Unwin. 15s.). Anthony Smith tells a very funny story of the life and death of the *African Sun*, edited by Ugo and supported or undermined by the efforts of an ebullient staff. Debts, libel and disaster follow on the heels of sudden prosperity but the high spirits are unflagging for West Africa has no use for pessimism. The author's experience of promoting the first popular magazine of the region informs every page of the tale, giving it a documentary-like precision with no sacrifice of humanity nor bitterness in the laughter.

GRACE BANYARD

*To be continued*

# THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW

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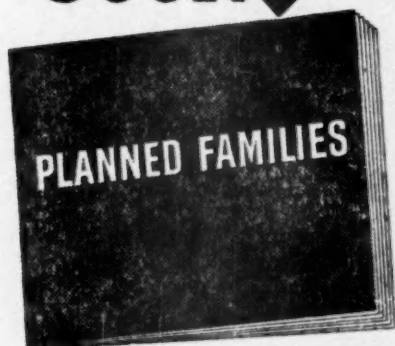
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